1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

221 361 were accustomed to remain at one camp, which was thus the chief camp of the group. In particular they would spend there the whole of the rainy season. During the cool and hot seasons they would leave the chief camp for a few months, leading during that time a more nomadic life, living in temporary hunting camps and paying visits to their friends in other groups. At the opening of the rainy season they would return once more to the main camp.

361 342 The camps of the natives of the Great Andaman may be distinguished as being of three kinds. Of the first kind are what may be spoken of as permanent encampments. Certainly every group of the forest-dwellers, and probably every group of the coast-dwellers had its permanent encampment, which was, so to speak, the headquarters of the group. At this spot there would be erected either a communal hut, or a carefully built village. Communal huts have in recent times fallen into disuse, as the natives now wander about the islands much more freely than was their wont. I did not see a single one in the Great Andaman during my visit, though I was told of one that was falling to ruins in the interior of the Middle Andaman. One such communal hut was photographed in 1895 by M. L. Lapicque, at a spot called *Lekera-l'un-ta*[1]. It was perhaps the last that the natives of the Great Andaman erected. What the communal hut was like it is possible to discover both from the statements of the natives and also from the fact that they are still to the present day used by the natives of the Little Andaman and by the *Jarawa*. The hut was roughly circular in form and might be as big as 60 feet in diameter and 20 or 30 feet high at the centre. The shape was somewhat that of a beehive. Two concentric circles, one of tall posts near the centre and the other of shorter posts near the circumference, were connected by horizontal and sloping roof-timbers, and on these were laid and fastened a number of mats of palm-leaves. These mats reached, as a rule, as far as the ground, a small doorway being left on one side.

Such communal huts, while still used in the Little Andaman

[1] The photograph is reproduced in *Le Tour du Monde*, 1895, p. 447.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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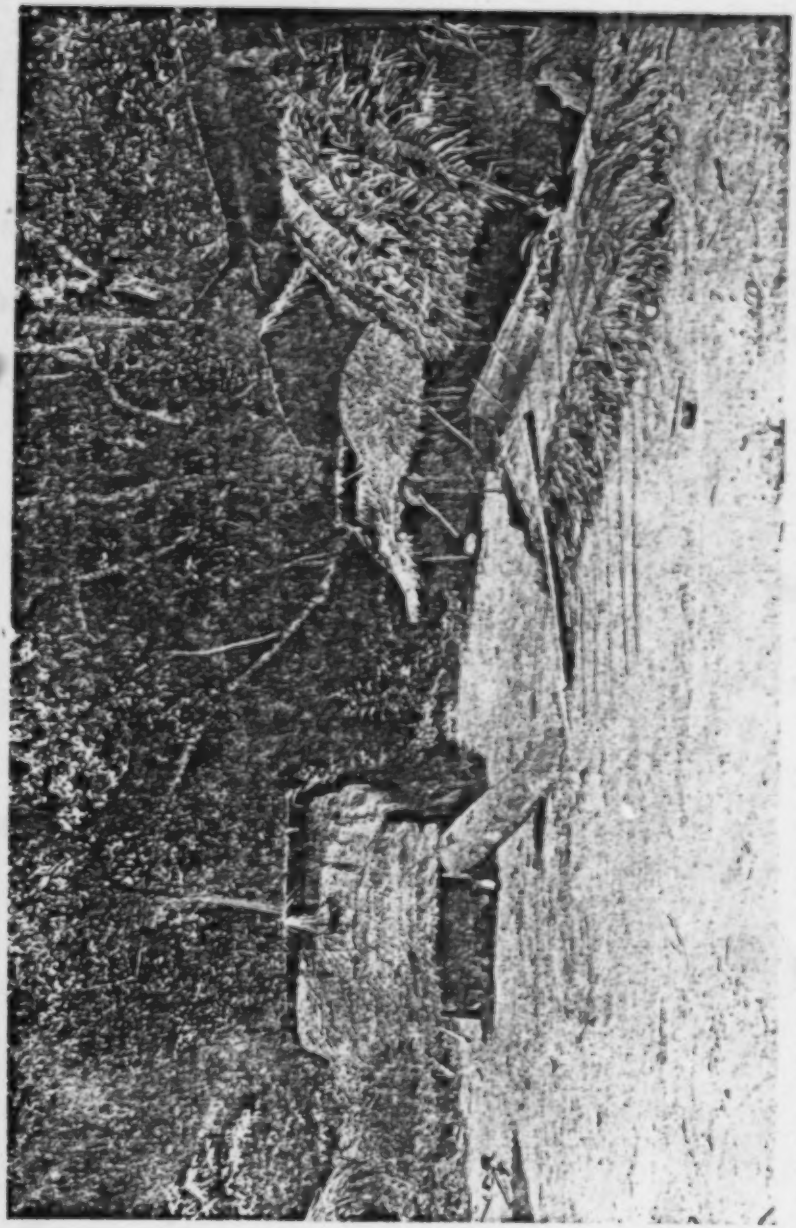


Portion of the village of Moi-lepto, *Akar-Bale* tribe. On the right is an unfinished mat of palm leaves for the roof of a new hut

[facing p. 32]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906–1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

and by the *Jarawa*, and formerly used by the forest-dwellers of the Great Andaman, were apparently not often erected by the coast-dwellers of the larger island at the time the islands were occupied in 1858. Mr Man seems to have regarded them as being peculiarly characteristic of the *Jarawa* and the natives of the Little Andaman[1]. There is evidence, however, that even the coast-dwellers formerly erected such huts, for in the *Akar-Bale* tribe there are several places with names such as *Parwy Bud* and *Golugma Bud*, which show that communal huts existed there at some time. The word *bud* is used to denote a communal hut, as compared with a village, which is called *baraij*.

A large communal hut took some little time to erect. The posts had to be cut and erected, this being the work of the men, and the palm-leaves had to be collected and then made into mats by the women. Once the hut was built it would last for several years, and if it were in fairly constant use, particularly if it were not abandoned in the rains, it might be used, with a little occasional patching, for ten years or even more.

Among the coast-dwellers it was more usual to erect at the headquarters a semi-permanent village. A portion of such a village is shown in the photographs reproduced in Plates VI and VII.

The village occupied a small clearing in the forest close to the sea-shore at a place called *Mọi-lepto* in the country of the *Akar-Bale* tribe. A spring or soak close to the village provided the fresh water. The site is a favourite one as it is well sheltered, and is within convenient distance of good fishing and turtle hunting grounds. It was formerly one of the chief camping places of the local group known as the *Boroin wa* (Hill people).

The village was composed of eight huts, ranged round a central open space, and all of them facing inwards towards the centre. This open space is kept clear and clean for dancing, and is simply the village dancing ground. Each of the single huts was occupied by a family group, consisting of

[1] See *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.* Vol. XII, p. 71.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

361 a man and his wife with their children and dependants. One hut was occupied by an old widower and a bachelor.

●342 The way the huts are built can be seen in the photographs. In the simplest form the hut consists of a sloping roof made of palm-leaves, erected on four posts, two taller ones at the front and two short ones at the back. A hut of this kind is shown in Plate VII. If more shelter is required a second roof is added in such a way that the top of one overhangs the top of the other. In some cases a third roof may be added on one side. In Plates VI and VII two mats of palm-leaf are shown in the course of construction, lying on the ground.

Huts such as these, in which the leaves are first made into a mat which is then attached to the rafters, will last for some time. Even if the village be deserted for several weeks, at any rate in the dry weather, very little work will be needed to make it habitable again when the occupants return to it.

A second kind of camp was made when the natives did not intend to stay more than two to three months. Such camps were erected by the forest folk during the dry season, or at any time when they were compelled to leave their chief camp through the death there of one of their number. Such a temporary camp is always put up in the form of a village, and never as a communal hut. The huts are similar to those already described, but are made more carelessly. The thatching leaves, instead of being made into mats, are simply tied in bundles on to the rafters. A hut of this kind will last quite well for three months or so and it can be built very rapidly at any place where there is a sufficient supply of thatching leaves. At the present day the natives rarely build a permanent camp for themselves, but are contented with temporary camps of the kind here described.

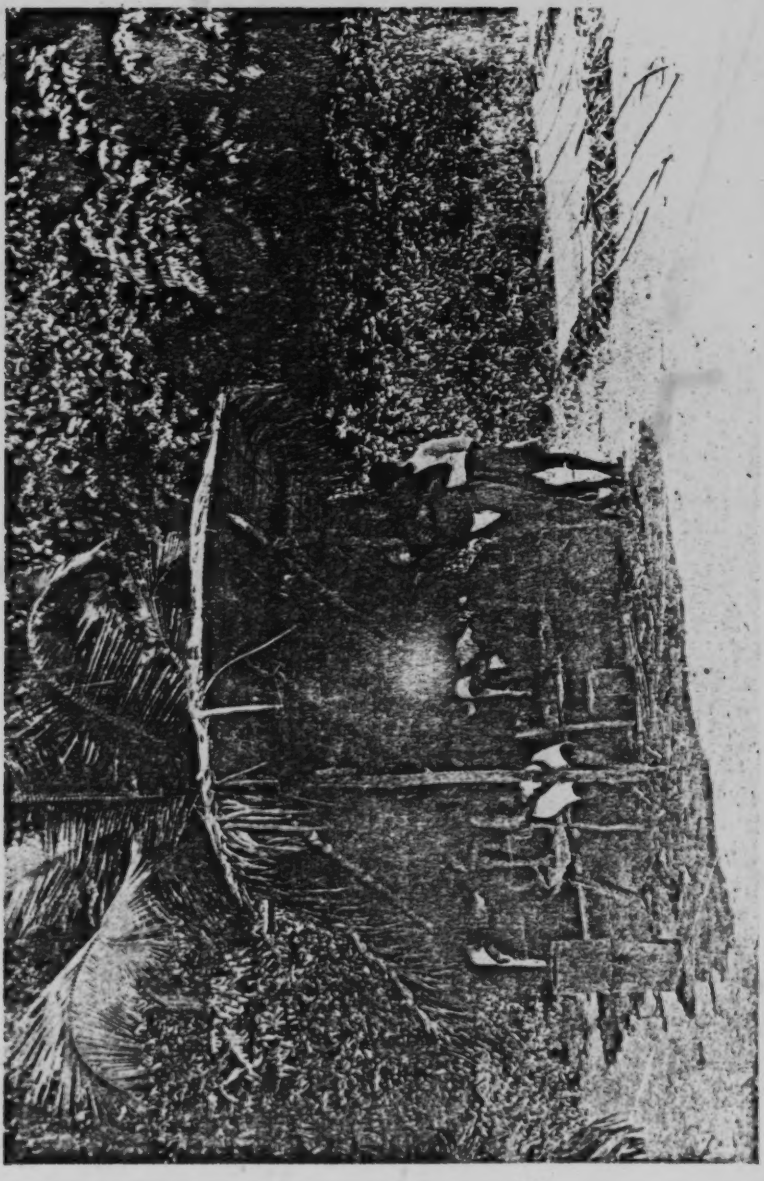
A third kind of camp remains to be briefly mentioned, which we may call the hunting camp. A hunting party (which may include women as well as men) spending a few days away from one of the main camps will erect for themselves a few huts or shelters consisting of nothing more than a simple lean-to of leaves.

Caves or rock shelters suitable for human occupation are

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE VII

342●



A hut in the village of Moi-lepto, showing the mode of construction

[facing p. 34]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

361 almost unknown in the Andamans. In the Archipelago there are
342 one or two small rock shelters that are occasionally used by a hunting party away from home for a night. I was told by the natives that on one of the islands off the west coast of the North Andaman there is a rock shelter of a fair size that was formerly used as one of their chief camps.

The following figure will give an idea of the Andamanese village and its arrangement. In hunting camps which are intended only to be occupied for a few days or a few weeks, this arrangement is not observed, but the huts or shelters are placed

Plan of Andamanese Village

a. Huts of married people.
b. Bachelors' hut.
c. Public cooking place.
d. Dancing ground.

so as to give shelter from the prevailing wind with no particular regard to the respective position of the different units.

361 The constitution of the local group is illustrated by the
621 arrangement of the village. The whole village consists of a number of separate huts, each hut occupied by a family. A family consists of a man and his wife and such of their children own or adopted as are not of an age to be independent. Besides the families each group necessarily contains a small number of unmarried men and widowers and some unmarried girls and widows. The unmarried men and widowers without children occupy a separate hut (or huts) which we may speak of as the bachelors' hut. Mr Man states that the spinsters (i.e., the

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

unmarried women who are of marriageable age) and widows occupy a hut of their own similarly to the bachelors[1]. In the camps that I visited I did not find any such spinsters' hut. What unmarried females there were, I found attached to one or other of the families of the village, each one living in the hut of some married relative, generally the parent or foster-parent.

All the huts face inwards towards an open space which is the dancing ground of the village, and, except in exposed situations, are generally entirely open in front. At some convenient spot on one side of the dancing ground is to be found the communal cooking place of the village. This is generally close to the bachelors' hut, as it is the bachelors who attend to such cooking as is carried on there. Besides the public cooking place each family has its own fireplace in its own hut, on which a fire is kept continually alight. In the village two or more families may build their huts adjoining one another in such a way that they become for all practical purposes one hut, of which each family retains its own special portion. Two brothers will thus often make a sort of common household.

The communal hut, in the way in which it is arranged, and even in the way in which it is built, is really a village with all the huts drawn together so that each one is joined to the one next to it and the roofs meet in the middle. In the centre of the hut there is an open space corresponding to the dancing ground of the village. It is even used as a dancing ground, though for this purpose it is somewhat small. It is the public part of the hut. Around this are arranged the different families, each occupying its own special portion of the hut, which is marked off by means of short lengths of wood laid on the floor. The public cooking place is sometimes inside the hut, and there is the space marked off for the unmarried men. The advantage of the communal hut is that it affords a better protection from the weather; its disadvantage is that it leaves almost no room for dancing.

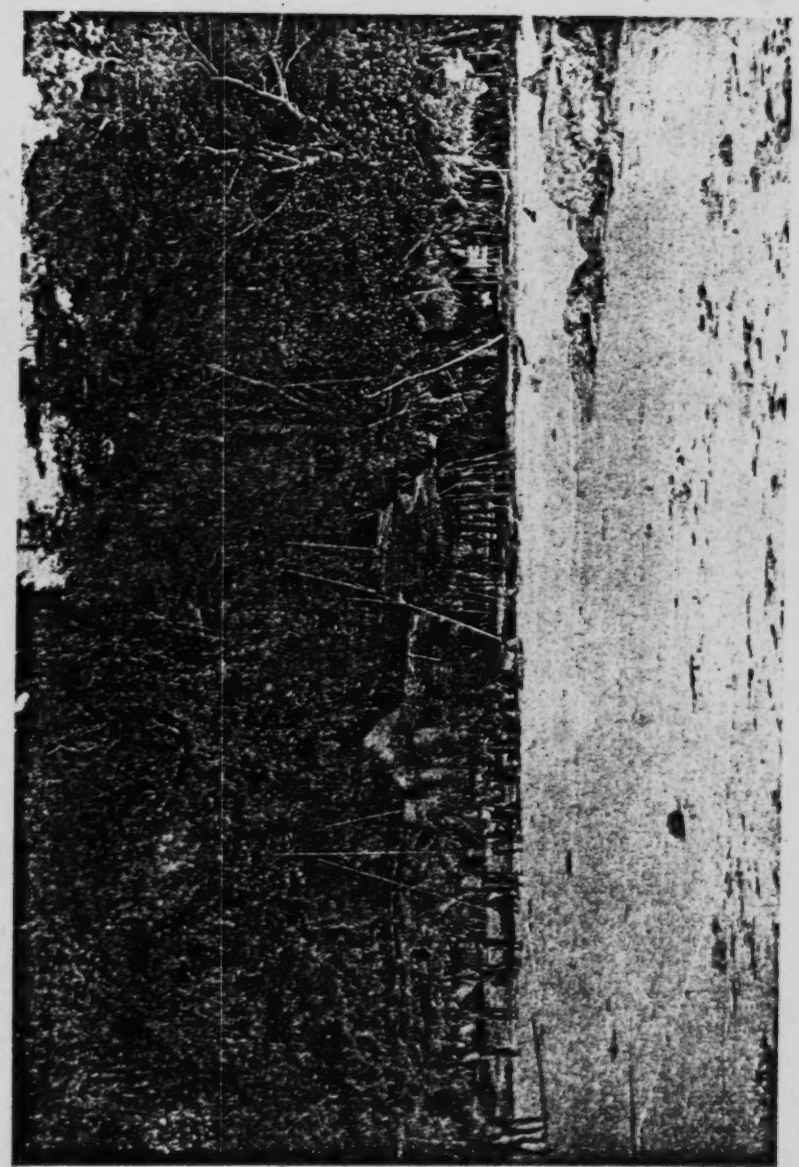
Thus it may be seen that the arrangement of the camp shows

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 108.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE VIII

342
361



A village of the Middle Andaman

[facing p. 36]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

own bow, arrows, adze, etc., while the wife makes her baskets, nets and so on. 462

The economic life of the local group, though in effect it approaches to a sort of communism, is yet based on the notion of private property. Land is the only thing that is owned in common. The hunting grounds of a local group belong to the whole group, and all the members have an equal right to hunt over any part of it. There exists, however, a certain private ownership of trees. A man of one of the local groups of the coast may notice in the jungle a tree suitable for a canoe. He will tell the others that he has noticed such a tree, describing it and its whereabouts. Thenceforward that tree is regarded as his property, and even if some years should elapse, and he has made no use of it, yet another man would not cut it down without first asking the owner to give him the tree. In a similar way certain men claim to possess certain *Artocarpus* trees, though how the ownership in these cases had arisen I was unable to determine. No one would pick the fruit off such a tree without the permission of the owner, and having received permission and gathered the fruit he would give some part of it to the owner of the tree. 421

A pig belongs to the man whose arrow first strikes it, though if the arrow merely glanced off and did not remain in the wound it would not give any claim to ownership. A turtle or a dugong or big fish belongs to the man who throws the harpoon with which it is taken. A honeycomb belongs to the man who climbs the tree and cuts it down. The fish that a man shoots belong to him, and to a woman belong the roots she digs up, the seeds that she collects, the fish or prawns that she takes in her net or the molluscs that she brings from the reefs. Any weapon that a man makes belongs to him alone to do what he pleases with, and anything that a woman makes is her own property. A man is not free to dispose of the personal property of his wife without her permission. [562]

In the village each family erects and keeps in repair its own hut, and the wife provides the hut with the firewood and water needed. In the case of a communal hut it would seem that this is really an example of a possession common to the whole group. 421 594 342

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

421 This is so, however, only in appearance. The hut is built by all
594 the different families, but each family is regarded as owning
342 a certain portion of the hut when it is finished, and it is the family that keeps this part of the hut in repair.

421 A canoe is cut by a number of men together. From the
501 outset, however, it is the property of one man, who selects
476 the tree and superintends the operation of cutting it into shape. He is always one of the older men, and he enlists the services of the younger men to help him. When finished the canoe is his property, and he can do with it what he pleases, giving it away, if he wishes, and no one has any share of ownership in a canoe on the ground that he helped to make it.

421 While all portable property is thus owned by individuals, the
431 Andamanese have customs which result in an approach to com-
574 munism. One of these is the custom of constantly exchanging presents with one another. When two friends meet who have not seen each other for some time, one of the first things they do is to exchange presents with one another. Even in the ordinary everyday life of the village there is a constant giving and receiving of presents. A younger man or woman may give some article to an older one without expecting or receiving any return, but between equals a person who gives a present always expects that he will receive something of equal value in exchange. At the meetings that take place between neighbouring local groups the exchange of presents is of great importance. Each of the visitors brings with him a number of articles that he distributes amongst the members of the group that he visits. When the visitors depart they are loaded with presents received from their hosts. It requires a good deal of tact on the part of everyone concerned to avoid the unpleasantness that may arise if a man thinks that he has not received things as valuable as he has given, or if he fancies that he has not received quite the same amount of attention as has been accorded to others.

431 It is considered a breach of good manners ever to refuse
576 the request of another. Thus if a man be asked by another to give him anything that he may possess, he will immediately do so. If the two men are equals a return of about the same value will have to be made. As between an older married man

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

are shown in the form of a diagram or tree. The justification for this arrangement will appear as we proceed.

There is only very scanty information available about the technical culture of the Negritos of the Malay Peninsula, whom we may speak of as the Semang. There are differences of technology between the Semang of different parts, and a careful study of these differences would serve to throw much light on changes that have been introduced since the Semang were isolated from the rest of their race. There is no doubt that the Semang have adopted many elements of their present culture from their neighbours the Sakai and others. In some instances it is possible to trace this external influence, but in others it is doubtful whether we are dealing with a primitive Semang form or with a form adopted from their neighbours[1].

The same thing must be said about the Philippine Negritos. Our information is not sufficient to enable us to discuss the local differences, nor to determine what elements of the culture have been introduced by contact with other races[2].

HABITATIONS.

The huts of the Andamanese are best understood by considering first of all the simplest and most temporary structures. A man away from the main camp at night (on a hunting expedition) erects for himself a simple shelter of leaves. Such hunting shelters vary considerably according to circumstances. In the rainy season they are built much more substantially than in the dry season. Sometimes shelter is found between the buttresses of large trees, a few leaves being added. There is, however, one type of hunting shelter that is usual. Two poles are cut and erected perpendicularly in the ground so that they stand about four feet apart and about four feet high. To the top of these is tied, with cane or creeper, a horizontal pole. A few poles or sticks of sufficient length are placed so as to lean against the horizontal pole at an angle of about 45°, the ends resting on the ground. On these are placed any leaves that can be obtained,

[1] The information here given as to the Semang is derived from two works, Skeat and Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, vol. I, quoted as *Skeat*, and Rudolf Martin, *Die Inlandstämme der Malayischen Halbinsel*, 1905, quoted as *Martin*.

[2] The information about the Philippine Negritos is derived from Reed, *Negritos of Zambales*, Manila, 1904, quoted as *Reed*, and A. B. Meyer, *Die Philippinen, II, Die Negritos*, Dresden, 1893, quoted as *Meyer*.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

342 preferably the leaves of canes and other palms. The shelter thus consists of a single rectangular roof, one end of which rests on the ground, while the other rests on a horizontal bar attached to the top of two perpendicular supports. The shelter is built facing to leeward.

The usual family hut of the Andamans is built on exactly the same principles as a hunter's shelter, but, being intended for occupation for some weeks or even months, is more carefully built. For a small hut, to be occupied by one family, four posts are erected, two at the back being from two to four feet high above the ground, while two at the front are from five to seven feet high. Two horizontal poles are attached, one to the top of the front posts and the other to the back posts, with strips of cane. If poles of a convenient size and forked at the top are available these may be used for the posts of the hut, the horizontal poles being supported in the forks, but a native would not trouble to search for such timbers, being satisfied with an unforked post. A few slender timbers, preferably of mangrove wood (*Bruguiera*), are placed on the two horizontal poles and bound to them with cane. These rafters, as they may be called, project for a foot or two above or beyond the higher horizontal, and similarly project a foot beyond the lower one so as almost to reach the ground.

In the better kind of hut a mat is made of palm leaves, and this mat is placed on the rafters and tied to them with strips of cane. To make a mat a number of strips of bamboo or cane of sufficient length are taken and placed on the ground parallel to each other. Leaves of a species of cane are collected and each leaf is divided into two parts down the middle. These half-leaves are then attached to the strips of bamboo or cane, by means of strips of the outside of canes, the technique being wrapped-twined work. The half-leaves are attached so that the leaflets, which are attached to the leaf-stem at an angle, incline alternately to one side and the other. The photograph reproduced in Plate VII shows a hut of the kind here described. Mats in course of making are shown lying on the ground in Plates VI and VII.

A quicker, but less efficient way of thatching the hut is to take the half-leaves such as are used for making a mat and fasten them in bundles of five or six directly to the rafters.

Huts of this type, each occupied by a single family, are built by the natives of the Great Andaman Division in the form of villages. The Jarawa and the natives of the Little Andaman build similar huts in their hunting camps, occupied during the fine weather.

Some huts of this type are provided with a floor raised above the

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

ground. Such a floor is erected on short posts, and may be made of bamboos or of planks or pieces of broken-up canoes. A floor of this kind, raised a foot or so above the ground, is shown in Plate VII. Huts are sometimes to be seen with a floor raised as much as three feet above the ground. 342

The simple Andaman hut as above described is entirely open at the front and on each side. In an exposed situation screens of palm-leaves may be erected at the side. If still more shelter is required, a hut may be built with two roofs. Such a hut requires six posts, two taller ones six or seven feet high, and four shorter ones, two on each side. For such a hut two mats are made, and are so attached that one mat projects above the other. No attempt is made to fasten the two mats together at the top, but on the contrary a space of several inches is left between them to allow the smoke of the fire to escape, rain being excluded by the overhang of one of the mats. Huts of this type may be seen in Plate VI.

Each of the huts hitherto described is occupied by a single family. 361 In order to understand the communal huts it is necessary to consider the arrangement of small huts in a camp or village. In the tribes of the Great Andaman there are two main types of such arrangement. The first type is that of the hunting camp, which is occupied for a few nights only. In this all the huts are placed facing in the same direction (to leeward) and in a line with one another. The second type is that of a village to be occupied for some weeks or months. In this the huts are arranged round an open space, all facing inwards, as described earlier in this book[1]. All encampments in the Great Andaman tend to conform to one or other of these types, but variations are introduced according to the nature of the site occupied. Thus in a hunting camp the site may not permit of the erection of the huts in one line. A village is, as a rule, only put up at a spot that has been used from time immemorial, where there is an open space of sufficient size, but if, for any reason, a site is selected where there is not room to arrange all the huts around the dancing ground, the arrangement of the village may be irregular.

The hunting camps of the Jarawa are sometimes arranged on the same principle as those of the tribes of the Great Andaman Division, i.e., all facing in one direction and as nearly in one line side by side as the site will allow.

The natives of the Little Andaman erect hunting camps in the fine

[1] See p. 34.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

361 weather. In the only one that I have seen the huts were arranged irregularly so as to make the best use of the available space.

A few words must be said on the sites chosen for encampments. It must be remembered that the islands are entirely covered with forest. The natives will not, if they can avoid it, put their camp under high trees, for fear of the danger of falling branches in a storm. At the same time they prefer a situation where there is an open space surrounded with forest so that they are sheltered from the wind. The coast-dwellers always camp immediately within the jungle on the shore of the sea or of a creek. The forest-dwellers usually choose a position on a hill or ridge, and this is particularly the case with the Jarawa. The camp must be close to a supply of fresh water. In the tribes of the Great Andaman Division no precautions are taken against a possible attack by enemies, but the Jarawa do take precautions, clearing the trees around their camps so that they have a good view of the approaches, and even, apparently, placing look-out stations at the tops of the paths[1].

Amongst the coast-dwelling tribes there are sites that have been used for encampments for many centuries. At these spots there are found heaps of refuse that have accumulated year by year. These kitchen-middens, as they are sometimes called, consist of the shells of molluscs, bones of animals, stones that have been used for cooking, fragments of pottery, and loam produced from decayed wood and other refuse.

342 361 The two types of camp arrangement which are seen in the village and the hunting camp are exhibited in two different types of communal hut. One of these, corresponding to the hunting camp, may be termed the long shelter. It is apparently only used in the North Sentinel Island. A hut of this type was seen by Mr Gilbert Rogers in 1903. It was rectangular, 40 feet long and 12 feet wide. The roof was supported on three rows of small posts ranging in height from 3 feet at the back to 6 feet at the front of the hut. The roof projected about 2 feet in either direction beyond the posts and was about 2 feet from the ground at the back and 7 feet above the ground at the front. There were twelve places for fires, six in front and six at the back of the hut, and near each, on the right-hand side, was a platform supported on four sticks, of the usual Andamanese type, for keeping food. There were two rows of sleeping places which were separated by small poles, making rectangles on the ground about 5 feet

[1] See *Census Report*, 1901.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

by 4 feet, each of which was probably occupied by a man and his wife and small children[1]. 342 361

The relation of this type of communal hut, in which all the members of one local group are brought together under a single roof of one slope, to the ordinary family hut of the Andamans, and the arrangement of the hunting camp in a line, is obvious.

To the arrangement of huts in a village around a central open space corresponds the second type of communal hut, which may be called the round hut. Communal huts of this type were formerly built by the natives of the Great Andaman Division, but have fallen into disuse in recent times, owing to the natives having become much more migratory in their habits. Huts of the same type are built at the present day by the natives of the Little Andaman and by the Jarawa.

In its typical form this kind of hut is built by erecting two circles of posts, a smaller circle of tall posts, and a wider circle of shorter posts. The tops of these posts are connected by horizontal and sloping timbers, which make the framework of the roof. The roof is made of a number of mats of palm-leaves, which are laid on the rafters and tied to them with strips of cane. The mats are made in exactly the same way as the smaller mats used for the small huts and already described. They are sometimes rectangular in shape, though occasionally an attempt is made to make them narrower at the top and broader at the bottom. They are arranged on the roof so as to overlap one another and thus make the hut rain-proof. They are not joined in the centre, but a small space is left for the smoke of the fires to escape, and the rain is prevented from entering by letting one or two of the mats overhang the others at the top. 342

In the round huts of the Jarawa and the Little Andaman there is no centre-post, and according to the statements made to me by the natives of the Great Andaman they did not use a centre-post for their huts. In the description attached to a photograph in the British Museum Mr Portman speaks of the centre-post of a communal hut, which is shown in the photograph still standing, although the hut had been pulled down. It would therefore seem that in the Great Andaman the natives did sometimes erect a centre-post for their round huts. The typical round hut, however, has no centre-post.

It is clear that the round hut has been developed from the village. If all the small huts of a village be drawn together so as to touch each

[1] Supplement to the *Andaman and Nicobar Gazette*, January 2, 1904.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

342 other, and if the mats of thatching be lengthened so as to meet and overlap in the middle, we have a round hut in its typical form. The evidence that this is so is afforded by the thatching, consisting of separate mats, often rectangular in shape (like the mats used for family huts), placed so as to overlap one another. This crude way of thatching could hardly have originated in any other way. Further evidence is afforded, as we shall see, by the internal arrangement of the hut.

Although the hut is here called a round hut, it must not be supposed that the shape is always regularly circular. It may be somewhat oval, and in any case is rarely very regularly constructed. In general, however, the shape approaches more or less nearly to a circle.

Huts of this kind vary in size according to the number of families occupying them. The height in the middle may be as much as 30 feet and the diameter may be 60 feet. The smallest I have seen was a Jarawa hut on Rutland Island, which was only nine feet high and 15 feet maximum diameter. In exposed situations the mats of thatching reach as far as the ground, but huts are sometimes built in sheltered situations with a space of a foot or two left between the ends of the thatch and the ground. A low doorway is provided on one side.

Within the hut there is a central space that is the common part of the hut and corresponds to the dancing ground of the village. In the wet season the communal fire is situated in this open space, and here the communal cooking is performed. In Jarawa huts the roof of the central part of the hut is hung with trophies of the chase consisting of pigs' skulls bound with cane. In former times the natives of the Great Andaman Division hung similar trophies in their round huts. Around the central space are the spaces allotted to the different families, these being marked off by means of short lengths of wood laid on the ground.

It is thus clear that the basis of Andamanese architecture is the use of a single rectangular roof giving a shelter open at the front. This is the usual form of the hunter's shelter and of the family hut in the village. For additional shelter two such roofs may be used, but no attempt is made to join them, one being made to overlap the other. There are two customary modes of arranging huts, either side by side facing in the same direction or round an open space facing inwards. Where, instead of separate roofs for each family, we have a united roof, these two arrangements of the camp give rise to two different types of communal hut, the long hut and the round hut.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

In a village each hut is occupied by one family. In the communal hut (of either type) each family has a special portion of the hut marked off for its special use. Whether in a village or in a communal hut each family has its own small fire, at which the family meals are prepared. At one side of this fire is erected a small platform about a foot above the ground, supported on either three or four upright sticks. This platform is used for storing food. The natives of the Little Andaman erect low bamboo platforms to serve as beds, arranged round the communal hut, each family having its own. In the Great Andaman the natives, as a rule, make a bed of leaves on the ground and lay a sleeping mat on the top of this. In damp situations, however, they sometimes, as already mentioned, make a floor to the hut, raised a foot or two above the ground, and sleep on that. The Jarawa have a habit of sleeping in the wood-ashes of their fires in their cold weather hunting camps.

Turning now to the Semang, we find some differences in respect to their habitations. Those of the Semang who have not been influenced to a great extent by their neighbours and have not settled down to agricultural pursuits, never camp in the same spot for more than a few days, and have therefore no need to build anything except temporary shelters[1].

The Semang often erect their shelters in trees, well above the surface of the ground. This is a feature which distinguishes them from the Andamanese. It seems probable that these tree-shelters have been adopted by the Semang as a protection against wild beasts[2]. As there are no dangerous beasts in the Andamans, the extra labour involved in building a shelter in the branches of a tree instead of on the ground would serve no useful purpose. The difference in this respect between the Semang and the Andamanese is therefore due to a difference in the circumstances in which they live.

The typical form of Semang shelter, occupied by one family, is erected by planting three or four stout sticks or poles in the ground in a row at an angle of about 60° or 75° and lashing palm-leaves across these. The screen or roof thus formed is further supported, if necessary, with one or two poles used as props in front[3]. These shelters are similar to the Andaman shelters in having a single sloping rectangular roof, but differ from them in being supported, not by upright posts, but in an altogether less adequate manner.

[1] Skeat, p. 172. [2] Skeat, p. 174.

[3] Skeat, p. 176, and plate. See also Annandale, *Fasciculi Malayensis, Anthropology*, Part I, Plate IV.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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342 However, the Semang shelters are apparently very easy to erect, and as they are only occupied for a night or two there is no inducement to the natives to make them more substantial.

The Semang sometimes make a shelter by planting a number of palm-leaves in the ground in a semicircle so that the overhanging ends meet in the centre[1].

As the Semang are constantly moving from place to place, they have little use for a communal hut of substantial build. One communal shelter has been described, which contained eleven sleeping-places arranged in two long rows. The upright timbers of the shelter consisted of young saplings planted in two opposite rows, across them being lashed the leaves of a palm. There were, besides, two central posts or pillars, each about a third of the distance from either end of the shelter, and a dozen poles placed as props or wind-braces in various positions and at various angles, in order to strengthen the structure and keep it from being blown over in a high wind. The two slopes of the roof were not united over a ridge-pole, but a longitudinal aperture was left between them for about two-thirds of the entire length of the roof, and through the gap thus caused the greater part of the smoke from the many fireplaces issued. All round the walls were ranged a number of bamboo sleeping-platforms, five to six feet in length by about three feet in breadth. The owner of each sleeping-platform or family unit possessed a separate fire or hearth[2].

We have only scanty information about the huts of the Philippine Negritos. In Zambales (Luzon) a certain number of the Negritos have adopted a settled mode of life and depend on agriculture for some part of their subsistence. The most advanced of these have adopted the form of hut common amongst their neighbours. The less settled Negritos of Zambales erect huts which are almost exactly the same as the family huts of the Andamanese. Two short upright posts are erected for the back of the hut, and two taller ones for the front, and on these four posts a rectangular roof of one slope is erected. A bamboo floor or platform is erected a foot or so above the ground, just as in some Andaman huts[3]. In the Zambales huts the upright posts are forked and the horizontal poles are supported in the fork.

At Casiguran the Negritos erect palm-leaf shelters similar to those of the Semang. A few poles are thrust into the ground at an angle and in a row and palm-leaves are attached to these, the screen being further supported with props[4].

[1] Skeat, p. 174. [2] Skeat, p. 177. [3] Reed, Plate XXXVIII. [4] Meyer, Plate X.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

A comparison of the three branches of the Negrito race in the light of present information shows that the usual form of habitation amongst them is a sloping roof or screen of palm-leaves. One form of this, the simplest to construct, but only suitable as a temporary shelter, is in common use amongst the Semang and is found amongst the Negritos of Casiguran. The other form, more permanent but requiring more labour to erect, is in common use in the Andamans and amongst the Negritos of Zambales. Of communal huts we have no evidence in the Philippines. The communal shelter of the Semang consists of two screens leaning towards one another. The two types of communal hut of the Andamans are both derived from the family hut.

HUNTING, FISHING, ETC.

The Andaman Islanders depend for their subsistence entirely upon the natural productions of the forest and the sea. They make no attempt whatever to cultivate the soil. Until the introduction of dogs in 1858 they had no domestic animals. Young pigs are occasionally kept in captivity till they are grown, but they are killed for food and are not bred in captivity. Thus the Andamanese provide themselves with food by three different forms of activity: (1) collecting such things as roots and fruits and honey, (2) fishing in the sea and in the creeks, (3) hunting the wild animals of the forest.

For hunting the Andamanese rely entirely on the bow and arrow. Since they have had dogs they occasionally make hunting spears, but they did not do so in former times. They make no use whatever of any method of trapping game or birds. For fishing they also make use of the bow and arrow, wading out on to the reefs and shooting the fish, and in this they are very skilful. Crustaceans, such as crabs and cray-fish, are captured in the same way. In the North Andaman a sort of short fish spear was formerly in use as an occasional substitute for the bow and arrow. In all parts of the islands small nets are used by the women for catching small fish and prawns. In the Great Andaman large nets were formerly used for capturing turtle, dugong and large fish near the shore. At the present time the natives of the Great Andaman Division make use of harpoons with which they capture turtle, dugong and large fish from their canoes. Harpoons are not used in the Little Andaman. The Andamanese are also aware of methods of poisoning or stupefying fish in pools by means of certain plants that they crush and place in the water, but I have never seen them use this method of

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZZ Andamans AZZ

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PLATE 5

COMMUNAL HUT AT MÓT-KÚNU IN PORT ANSON HARBOUR (NORTH-EAST OF SPIKE ISLAND).

[facing p. 36]

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

361 221 166 suitability of a particular spot for fishing and turtling during certain phases of the moon, on account of the character of the foreshore, or the configuration of the coast, and the hope of meeting with better luck elsewhere—to these might be added the love of a change, and the prospect of seeing some of their friends; but it must not be supposed that a long journey is thereby involved; the move being generally made to a spot only a mile or two further on, and thus, by short stages, they sometimes proceed along the entire coast-line of their tribal territory, spending a few days or weeks at each halting place, according to the special attractions it may happen to possess in affording good sport on land or sea, or in supplying a rich harvest of fruit, honey, &c.

364 3. The necessity of a migration is also frequently forced on them by the consequences of their neglect to sweep away the refuse of their meals, it being regarded by these *insouciant* and unclean creatures as not worth their while to take so much trouble, when only a short stay is contemplated.

4. That the necessity for observing *some* sanitary measures has long since been recognised by the Andamanese is evident from the existence of numerous kitchen-middens throughout their territory, many of which are doubtless of remote origin. These refuse-heaps are still in course of formation by communities living at a distance from Port Blair, and are invariably found near camping grounds which have been, or are still more or less, permanently occupied. In those sites, where they are not seen, evidence is at once afforded of the temporary nature of the occupancy: the rubbish and refuse of food in these latter places is only swept aside if the ground be needed for a dance, wedding, or other ceremony, so that injury may not befall the revellers through inadvertently treading on a bone, stone, or shell. Crows, hermit-crabs, and, of late years, dogs, are the principal scavengers of these ill-ordered and dirty habitations, the two former performing their useful office as soon as a migration takes place.

342 **Habitations.**—1. We will now pass to the consideration of the three varieties of huts which are commonly met with in the permanent and temporary encampments throughout the territory of the eight Great Andaman tribes, and which are known as *chàng-tĕ̄pinga-*, *chàng-tŏ̄rnga-*, and *chàng-daranga*.

2. To commence with the *chàng-tĕ̄pinga-*, which is made by men, and erected in all permanent encampments as being the most durable. No particular kind of wood is used for the posts, which are four in number, two in front and two in rear, the former varying from six to nine feet in height, and the latter from two to three feet; upon these, slender rafters and two light transverse poles are secured, so as to form the framework of

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

the roof, which is thatched with palm leaves of the variety called *chà·ngta-*. These are neatly plaited together, and fastened with cane, *pī·dga-*, and then placed in rows and tied, so that, when complete, the whole forms a capital roof impervious to the heaviest shower of rain.

3. The second variety, *chàng-tô·rnga-*,[1] are erected when temporary homes are required, which will last for a few months, as during the period of mourning;[2] they are made by men, and differ only from the *chàng-tē·pinga-* in being generally somewhat smaller, and less neatly thatched; another variety of palm leaf, called *ám-*, is sometimes substituted for the *chà·ngta-*.

4. The *chàng-dar·anga-*, or the third variety, being only intended to serve as shelter during a halt or short visit, is constructed in a yet more simple manner. The duty of erecting dwellings of this class devolves on the women, and from the following description it will be seen that the labour required is not excessive: two slender posts, about five feet long, are driven into the ground about five or six feet apart, and connected by means of a light pole or stick, which is secured to their upper ends. The roof is then formed by placing, stem downwards and firmly fixed in the ground, large palm leaves, which are made to overlap each other in such a way as to provide a fairly rain-proof shelter for one or two persons.[3] The leaves used for the purpose are either the *chà·ngta-*, *kâ·pa-*, or *â·para-*.

5. Above the small fire, without which no hut is complete, a small wooden platform or shelf, called *châ·pa lī tâ·ga-*, or *yât leb tâ·ga-*, is placed on one or more sticks. On this they deposit their spare food, so that it may be preserved by the smoke from the attacks of insects, &c.[4] By way of adornment, trophies of the chase, such as the skulls of pigs,[5] turtles, dugongs, &c., are suspended from the front of the roof.[6]

6. It seems desirable to draw attention to the following passage in Dr. Dobson's paper, lest, if left unnoticed, some misapprehension should arise on the subject. He states that "the Andamanese, at least the inhabitants of the southern island, erect no kind of house whatever . . . . When walking along the beach in the vicinity of Port Mouat,

[1] This variety is shown in Plate III, fig. 2.

[2] *Vide post* "Death and Burial," paragraph 4.

[3] Similar leaf shelters are erected by the Puris. *Vide* E. B. Tylor's "Anthropology."

[4] *Vide post* "Food," paragraph 31.

[5] This style of decoration is now-a-days falling into disuse, especially in South Andaman, for, with the assistance of dogs, hunting is much less arduous now than formerly, and a large collection of pig skulls is, therefore, easily obtained by the least skilful among them.

[6] Figuier speaks also of "large dried fish tied in bunches" being similarly treated but no ground for such a statement can be discovered.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

I have often come across one of their temporary habitations, which consists of a hole scooped out in the sand, beneath an over-hanging rock, large enough to contain a single person." As these savages are *never* in the habit of sleeping on the sand, or in holes scooped in the ground, but on a mat, or leaves spread under one or other of the three varieties of huts described above, it is difficult to account for what Dr. Dobson saw, unless they were the resting places of ticket-of leave fishermen or convict runaways. No other explanation than this could be given when some aborigines, and an experienced attendant at the homes, were questioned by me on the subject. One other solution only is possible, and that is, that the "holes scooped out in the sand" were the result of a game of mock burial, which, as I shall mention under "Games and Amusements," is rather a favourite recreation of the *àryô·to-* children.

7. The majority of the Great Andaman huts[1] partake of the character of a lean-to, the only respects in which the three varieties differ being[2] size and durability. They are found either standing alone, or, as is more especially the case in permanent encampments, so joined together as to form (at least, in their owners' eyes) a commodious as well as a weather-proof dwelling; and, constructed, as they usually are, in well-sheltered localities, away from the prevailing wind, they fulfil all the requirements of a savage home.

8. Permanent encampments vary in size, and consist of several huts, which in all are rarely inhabited by more than from 50 to 80 persons, though they are capable of affording accommodation, of a kind, to a much larger number if necessity arise as happens not unfrequently when festive tribal gatherings are arranged in honor of a wedding or other occasion of rejoicing.

9. The permanent encampments of the *àryô·to-* are established in those sites which offer special advantages for fishing and turtling at all seasons. Wherever there is a fine stretch of sandy beach, with an extensive foreshore, they will be invariably found, for, at such places, throughout the year the women are able at low tide to catch fish in pools with their hand-nets, and to collect large quantities of shell-fish; while, during the flood

[1] One of the huts in the *jâr·awa-* territory, between Port Blair and Port Campbell, when visited a few years ago, was found to measure 46 feet × 42 feet; and Mr. Homfray, in 1867, described the huts at Little Andaman as capable (*more Andamanico*) of accommodating 100 persons. being 50 feet in diameter and 30 feet in height. The leaf employed by this tribe for thatching purposes appears to be invariably the variety called *ám-*, and not the *chà·ngta-*.

[2] The largest hut of the ordinary type is rarely found capable of accommodating more than six persons. Sometimes these huts are placed together so as to resemble small sheds, but as this has hitherto been seen only in or near South Andaman, it is possible that the form of our barracks gave rise to the idea.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

PLATE VI.

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GREAT ANDAMAN TYPES AT PORT BLAIR HOME.

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CHANG-TONGA (SECOND-CLASS LEAN-TO) IN SOUTH ANDAMAN: FRIENDS WEEPING TOGETHER AFTER LONG SEPARATION; ATTITUDE IN SLEEP, ETC.

[facing p. 78]

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[501] (11) *Canoes.*—Bojigngiji and Yerewa, same pattern canoe; Ongе-Jarawa pattern different from above. Both out-rigged, Bojigngiji has in addition a large dug-out without outrigger.

[342] (12) *Huts.*—Bojigngijis and Yerewas have temporary huts. Ongе-Jarawas have large permanent communal dwellings.

[535] (13) *Dancing.*—Bojigngijis and Yerawas, sounding board and song and clapping in unison. Ongе-Jarawa, standing in a ring and alternately bending and straightening the knees: also on occasion kicking the buttocks with the flat of the foot.

[352] (14) *Beds.*—Jarawas sleep on the wood ashes of the fires. Onges on raised bamboo platforms. Other tribes on leaves and in sand-holes.

[262 251] (15) *Food.*—The staple food of the Onges is the mangrove fruit, boiled, and they preserve small fish dried after cooking. None of the other tribes do this.

The Long-shore and Jungle Andamanese.—The Andamanese are by themselves again further divided into the Aryoto or long-shore men. and the Eremtaga or jungle-dwellers; the habits and capacities of these two differ, owing to surroundings, irrespective of tribe. Some tribes as the Tabo, Juwai, Kol, and the South Andaman Jarawas, are entirely Eremtaga, while the Balawa, the Chariar, and the Jarawas of the North Sentinel are entirely Aryoto. The Aryoto holds himself to be better than the Eremtaga, but beyond this there seem to be no exclusive distinctions between them and an Aryoto will marry or adopt an Eremtaga.

With the minuteness in matters concerning their surroundings that is characteristic of all entirely uneducated people, the Andamanese recognise a third division of themselves by habits into Adajig or creek-dwellers, *i.e.*, those who live on the shores of the many inlets of the sea on the coasts of the Islands. The habits of the Adajig, however, are practically those of the Aryoto.

Distinctions by habits are quickly lost by the Andamanese. The Jarawas have now no canoes in the South Andaman and are quite incapable of constructing or using them, though all Onges have them and so have the Jarawas on the North Sentinel. So also had the Jarawas that Colebrooke met a century ago. And this year (1902) it was ascertained that the young men brought up at the Duratang (Kyd Island) Home and occupied chiefly in market gardening could neither steer nor paddle a canoe, nor take up tracks in the jungles. In one generation, though there was no restriction in communication with their people, they had lost both sea and forest craft.

Former Isolation of the Tribes.—Before the arrival of the English the tribes, excepting actual neighbours, may be said to have had no general intercourse with each other. and excepting some individuals were entirely unable to converse together, though it can be conclusively shown that all the existing languages are directly descended from one parent tongue. Even Septs had but little mutual intercourse and considerable differences in details of dialect and, as has occurred in other island abodes of savages, there must have been a change of dialect or language along about every 20 miles of the coast. The tribes were in fact brought together and made definitely acquainted with each other's separate existence and peculiarities by the influence and exertions of Mr. Man between 1875 and 1880.

609 **Sympathies and Antipathies.**—The tribal feeling is expressed as follows: friendly within the tribe, courteous to other Andamanese if known, hostile to every stranger, Andamanese or other. The sympathy and antipathy exhibited are strictly natural, *i.e.*, savage, and are governed by descent. The feeling of friendliness lies in an ever-decreasing zone from the family outwards towards sept, tribe, group: hostility to all others. Even septs will fight each other and Aryoto and Eremtaga do not mix much. But there is no "caste" feeling, and tribes will, in circumstances favouring the actions (*e.g.*, living on the tribal borders), intermarry and adopt each other's children. Within the tribe there is so general a custom of adoption that children above six or seven rarely live with their own parents. It is an act of friendliness to give up or adopt a child and the custom has had the effect of making the various septs of a tribe hang together much better than would otherwise have been possible.

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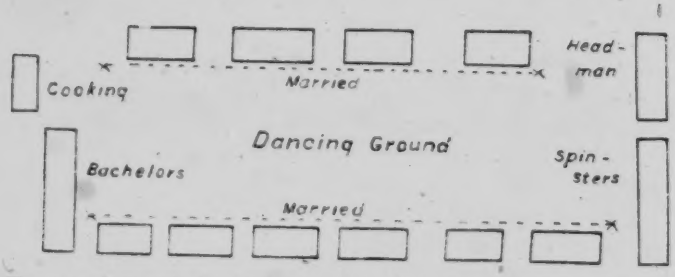
in other savages. At Government House, Calcutta, in 1895, when a party was told to sit down and weep to show the custom at meetings, in a few moments the weeping became genuine, and when after a short time they were told to stop and get up, tears were streaming down their faces. 576

General Capacities.—The Andamanese are good climbers, and rapid walkers and runners, moving with a free and independent gait, and can travel considerable distances at a time. The Jarawas turn their toes in, due to the necessity of stooping to pass along their paths through the tangled jungle. The Eremtaga are good but not remarkable trackers. The Aryoto are good swimmers and are much at home in the water. The Andamanese generally show a dexterity in getting about their thick and tangled jungles which baffles all immigrants, though in this respect the Eremtaga quite out-distance the Aryoto, and the Jarawas apparently all the others. In the jungles all shooting with arrows is necessarily at very short distance, and generally the Andamanese are good shots at short distances only, judging direction very well but distance hardly at all. They can however at the very short distance required for shooting fish allow accurately for refraction in moving water and will shoot their fish successfully even in the surf in a manner that is inimitable: this is really due to accurate judgment of direction. 481

The Andamanese are unadventurous seamen, poling and paddling their canoes with small spade paddles at considerable speed, faster than that of an ordinary ship's boat for a little distance though they could not paddle away from one in even a short chase, but they never go out of sight of land, have never been even to the Cocos (30 miles), nor to Narcondam and Barren Island, nor had they ever any knowledge of the existence of the Nicobars till our arrival. Man has a legend from Car Nicobar doubtfully going to show that the Onges from the Little Andaman once made raids on that island: but if this were true they would do so still. 502

IV. Habits and Customs.

Dwellings.—Except in the Little Andaman and among the Jarawas there are no fixed habitations, the search for easily obtained food and insanitary habits obliging the people to be nomads, for they have no practice of cultivation and domesticate no animal whatever except dogs obtained from the English. They thus dwell in various customary encampments, situate within their respective territories. At these encampments, usually fixed in sheltered spots, they erect about 14 temporary huts capable of holding up to 30 to 80 persons, arranged facing inwards on an oval plan always more or less irregular, thus— 621 [242] [231]



The central space is the dancing ground. A hut is merely a thatch about 4 feet long by 3 feet wide, sloping from 8 inches behind to 4½ feet in front, placed on four uprights and some cross-pieces without walls. In unsheltered spots and at the Head-Quarters of Septs large circular huts are built with a good deal of ingenuity, having eaves nearly touching the ground. These will be as much as 15 feet high and 30 feet in diameter. For hunting purposes mere thatched shelters are erected for protection from the wind. Close to every hut is a very small platform for surplus food about 18 inches from the ground, and in it at least one fire is carefully preserved. This is the one thing that the Andamanese are really careful about for they do not know how to make fire, though 342 [251] 372

372 they show much skill in so carrying smouldering logs with them by land or sea that they are not extinguished. Their ignorance of this fundamental requirement of civilization is shown in their fire-legend that fire was originally stolen from their deity Puluga and has never been allowed to become extinct since. Excepting guns, nothing has more impressed the Andamanese with European power and resources than the use of matches, *i.e.*, of making fire whenever required with ease.

342 In the Little Andaman and among the Jarawas of the South Andaman, large permanent huts for use in the wet season are built up of solid materials to 30 feet in height and 60 in breadth to hold the fires of 7 to 8 hunting parties, say 60 to 70 people, *i.e.*, they contain 7 to 8 fires with about 8 persons to each "fire." The Jarawa hunting camp is much the same as that of any other Andamanese and his great communal hut is built on the same principle as the larger huts of the other Andamanese.

The use of the flimsy hunting shelters and camp huts of the Andamanese is rendered possible in the wet and stormy weather so common in the Islands by the denseness of the jungle, which prevents the winds from reaching them even when close to the sea-beach and causes the rain to fall vertically upon them.

619 **Government.**—There is no idea of Government, but to each tribe and to each sept of it there is a recognised head, who has attained that position by
622 tacit agreement on account of some admitted superiority, mental or physical, and commands a limited respect and such obedience as the self interest of the other individual men of the tribe or sept dictates. There is a tendency to
[554] hereditary right in the natural selection of chiefs, but there is no social status that is not personally acquired. The social position of a chief's family follows that of the chief himself and admits of many privileges in the shape of tribal influence and immunity from drudgery. His wife is among women what he is
[888] among men and at his death, if a mother and not young, she retains his privileges. Age commands respect and the young are deferential to the elders. Of-
627 fences, *i.e.*, murder, theft, adultery, mischief, assault, are punished by the aggrieved party on his own account by injury to the body and property or by murder, without more active interference on the part of others than is consistent with their own safety, and without any fear of consequences except vengeance from the friends of the other side, and even this is usually avoided by disappearance till the short memory of the people has obliterated wrath.

421 Property is communal, as is all the land, and ideas as to individual possessions are but rudimentary, accompanied with an incipient tabu of the property belonging to a chief. An Andamanese will often readily part with ornaments to any one who asks for them. Theft, or the taking of property without leave, is only recognised as to things of absolute necessity, as arrows, pig's flesh, fire.
437 A very rude barter exists between tribes of the same group in regard to articles not locally obtainable or manufactured. This applies especially to cooking pots, which are made of a special clay found only in certain parts of the islands. The barter is really a gift of one article in expectation of another of assumed corresponding value in return, and a row if it is not forthcoming. The territory of other tribes is carefully respected without however there being any fixed boundaries.

562 The duties of men and women are clearly defined by custom, but not so as to make that of the women comparatively hard. The women have a tacitly acknowledged inferior position, but it is not such as to be marked or to leave them without influence.

771 **Religion.**—The religion is simple animism and consists of fear of the evil spirits of the wood, the sea, disease and ancestors, and of avoidance of acts traditionally displeasing to them, and this in spite of an abundance of mythological tales told in a confused, disjointed manner that is most instructive to the student of such things. There is neither ceremonial worship nor propitiation. There is an anthropomorphic deity, Puluga, the cause of all things, whom it is not, however, necessary to propitiate, though sins, *i.e.*, acts displeasing to him, are avoided for fear of damage to the products of the jungle. Puluga dwells now in the sky, but used to live on the top of Saddle Peak, their highest mountain. The Andamanese have an idea that the "soul" will go under the earth by an aerial bridge after death, but there is no heaven nor hell nor any idea of a cor-

those on board. There were two policemen on board. There were also an Andamanese boy Henry, who was lame, through having fallen on the rocks two days previously, three Andamanese women, the whole of the crew, free and convict, and a lame convict *mullah*. Out of all these people none had the sense to get the Andamanese canoe along-side, get it manned and row over and approach the Jarawas. The rest of us had done all we possibly could to come up with Jarawas and here they were in sight of over a dozen men waiting to be approached, and were allowed to remain and to leave unmolested. After the hardships we had been through, this piece of news was really too discouraging. I may as well add here what had really happened, though this we did not discover until a careful examination of the tracks the following day. A party of two or three men, a woman, and a child had left the last huts I had visited early in the morning. Proceeding by a Jarawa track, to the river bed, their high-way to the sea, they had come on the tracks of my party and followed them down to see who we were, and where we had come from. Having arrived at nearly the bottom of the river they broke off through the jungle in order to avoid the deep water, and came out on the coast, thus missing my boat. Here they found the launch, and after watching it for an hour and-a-half, and finding themselves unmolested, they had strolled off and found their way to Mr. Bonig's boat. Having looted this they returned, either to the huts from which they came, or to some others near by. While they were following my tracks Mr. Bonig and his party had come on theirs, and were hurrying after them as fast as possible, arriving an hour too late, and it was then too late to hunt them further so they had had the narrowest escape. I had been an hour or so too early for them, Mr. Bonig a bare hour too late, while the people on the launch had had them in view for a whole hour and more and had done nothing.

30th January.—To-day was a day of comparative rest. As our efforts to come across the Jarawas in the jungle had all been fruitless, we tried to tempt them to attack us. For this purpose the Andamanese were ordered to bathe and play about on the beach, the three women we had with us being landed with the rest. Only two policemen, Mr. Bonig and myself landed and strolled about in an unconcerned manner. But all to no purpose. The wily savages, either from fright or some other reason, declined to oblige us. The Andamanese said that finding so many people about, they had gone to give intelligence to the remainder of the tribe. However that may be, we could see no signs of them and at half past one after frequent blowing of the whistle we left, Mr. Bonig took the steam launch up to Kaichwa Bay, while I marched up the coast. I found an old shelter on the shore close to Port Campbell, and after that the whole way up the coast the only sign I could find of them was an old piece of wreckage with nails in it, out of which the Jarawas had evidently removed several nails. After the last two days' operations the journey was quite an easy march of 8 miles or so along the beach. On arrival I found Mr. Bonig had taken a party in to search the jungle. He returned at 6 P.M. having found no signs of any one.

31st *January.*—Left Kaichwa at 6 A.M., for Port Anson, arriving at 9 A.M. Picked up two Andamanese who knew the country well here and proceeded to the southern end of the harbour called by the Andamanese Dum-la-chorag. Set off for the shore at once with four policemen and a large party of Andamanese. We rowed a short way up a creek called by the Adamanese Dum-la-chorag-jig, and then landed in the mangrove swamp, taking the precaution to hide our rowlocks in the jungle. We marched through this for 2 or 3 miles. It was fairly open ground, but the mangrove mud was rather trying walking. At the end of the swamp we divided into two parties and separated to search for tracks. My party soon picked up some footsteps, and after a little hesitation found a Jarawa path and proceeded along it. This was of the same description as those I had previously struck and I knew we were on a Jarawa highway. After going about a quarter of a mile we overtook Mr. Bonig's party, which had struck the track a little sooner. We all proceeded along together, and after going up and down hill for 2 or 3 miles, as we ascended a steep hill, a clearing was visible through the jungle. With extreme caution the Andamanese advanced, and on the summit sure enough was the big Jarawa camp. The Andamanese call the place Pochang, and it was as far as I can judge 5 miles from the mouth of Dum-la-chorag-jig Creek. We advanced to the hut and found it empty. After seeing the substantial hunting huts erected by the Jarawas in the jungle, I had been prepared for a big house, but I never expected such a large, well constructed building. It was roughly oval in shape, the length being 60 feet and the breadth 40 feet, while it was 54 yards in circumference. Seven stout posts in a rough circle in the centre of the house were the main supports of the roof. These were about 17 feet in height, and some were 8 inches in diameter, and all were barked and smoothened. Rafters stretched from these to bullies on the outer circle, where the roof sloped to about 3 feet from the ground. Except that it had no floor it was quite as good as an ordinary Shan or Karen house, and was large enough to contain from 80 to 100 people. From the top of the roof, between the 7 centre posts were suspended, on strips of cane, 9 or 10 feet long, over 250 pig skulls, neatly fastened up in basket work. Below the skulls was the big fire-place, around the sides of the hut were the smaller fire-places, evidently used by separate families. There were about half-a-dozen of these, but when the house is in full occupation there would be at least a dozen. Each fire-place consists of four stakes driven into the ground. Between these the fire is lighted, and some 3 feet from the ground a piece of neat matting like a chick is fastened to the stakes so as to form a shelf for the meat, etc. A dozen well made vessels which the Andamanese said were honey pots were suspended from the rafters, as well as baskets of all sizes, unstrung bows, leaf water vessels, and other things. The thatching was decorated with

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bunches of leaves like fans used in their dances, and of these there were hundreds. Several children's bows were found, also wooden balls for them to play with, and a rough circular piece of wood which the Andamanese said was rolled along, and into which they shot their arrows. There was a large *degchi* made out of a tree trunk fitted into one of the honey pots, and neatly-worked mats used as shelves for the food, and also I think to sit on. Among other things I discovered a glass bottle, and it is worthy of note that they had a stock of firewood chopped and tied up with cane ready for use in one corner of the building. The house was on the summit of a hill, and there were seven paths leading up to it. All were well cleared at their opening on to the hill and each could be commanded by a man with a bow and arrow. Over two of the entrances were raised platforms of logs sloping from the ground to about 3 feet in height. These were the look-outs and each commanded a path and my own impression is that when the camp is in habitation, over each path a similar platform is erected, and each path thus well commanded. The main approach leading due north was as well cleared as a Forest Department road, and must have been 15 yards broad at the exit from the camp. Large trees had been felled and saplings cut a foot from the ground, and around the hut the grass had been cleared as carefully as at a jungle pongyi-kyaung in Burma. They had even taken the trouble to cut down several large trees, one quite 5 feet in diameter, evidently to have a view of the next ridge. In fact so much care had been taken both in the building of the house, and the clearing of the precincts, and so well were both done, that it is difficult to believe that savages have been able to do this unaided. The Andamanese say there is another, possibly two similar huts to this. They say that the whole Jarawa tribe collects in one of these in the rains. I am rather doubtful myself whether the whole tribe could occupy the house; I rather think they under-rate their numbers, as the traces of them on every side in the jungle make me think there are from 80 to 100 men, whereas the Andamanese put down their numbers at 100 all told. They say that they burned a similar hut to this some years ago at Maiilitilek. In the dry weather the Jarawas scatter hunting and live in their hunting huts.

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After exploiting the house we considered what was best to be done. At first we determined to camp in the house for the night, and for that purpose sent back a party to bring up food. Then leaving a guard of Police and Andamanese we went down the main path towards the north. It was very easy going, and though it narrowed from its 15-yard entrance to a path only wide enough for a man, there was no difficulty in getting along. We, however, found no fresh traces, indeed the only track we saw was that of a man who the Andamanese said was going to look after the house. They explained that every two or three days in the dry weather a man or two goes to see that nothing is wrong with the house. After proceeding about a mile we again considered what it was best to do, and eventually I came to the conclusion to leave the house and to return. I took one specimen of everything to take back to Port Blair, and left everything else in its place so as not to frighten the Jarawas. We then returned as fast as we could, reaching the launch at 6 P.M. To-day's expedition was not a hard one. We had had a tramp of 5 miles or so to the camp and a mile further on and back, so the whole day's march was not more than 12 or 13 miles.

February 1st.—Started from Port Anson at 6 A.M. and arrived 10-30 A.M. at Port Blair. Received orders to start the next day, and return with Mr. Rogers.

February 2nd.—Left Port Blair at 7-45 A.M. and arrived at Duratang at 10-45 A.M. Proceeded on to Jatang at 11-30 A.M. Met Mr. Rogers and handed him the Superintendent's letter. Returned with him at once getting back to the launch at 4 P.M.

February 3rd.—Started at day-break and anchored in Port Anson harbour at Dum-la-chorag at 9 A.M. Started off for the Jarawa house in boats at 9-30. On this occasion we pulled considerably further up the creek so as to avoid as much as possible of the mangrove swamp. On landing we almost at once came on the fresh tracks of five Jarawas, so leaving a guard of one policeman and several Andamanese at the boat, Mr. Bonig and myself followed them for about half a mile, but as we found they were only following our tracks of Friday we returned, and all made for the Jarawa camp at Pochang. We arrived about noon. We found the Jarawas had visited it since our discovery of it on January 31st and had carried off all the more valuable articles, such as the *degchi* and the honey pots. I had feared this when we came on their fresh footsteps. They had also slightly dismantled the house so as to make rude barricades on the unprotected approaches. I sent our Andamanese into the jungle to see that there were none lurking near, and then Mr. Rogers photographed the house, exterior and interior, while Mr. Needham, who was also with us, sketched it, after which we removed all the remaining baskets and other belongings, and cut down the pig skulls in the centre. After this we collected the Andamanese and they executed a war dance with the Jarawa leaf-fans. Then gathering up the trophies, consisting mostly of pig skulls, we returned to the launch, arriving at 4 P.M. Weighed anchor and proceeded to the Andaman Home at Port Anson, where we remained for the night.

February 4th.—Left Port Anson at 11-30 A.M., arriving at Port Blair at 4-30 P.M.

The four policemen who accompanied Mr. Bonig and myself on our several marches worked very well, and were always close to us. The work of the smarter boys among the Andamanese was splendid, and their tracking was a revelation to me. Their unerring knowledge of the jungle too was marvellous. For instance they had only visited Gering-chapa-jig once previously and that years before. Yet without a compass and with hardly a glimpse of the sun to guide them, they never faltered, knew exactly where they were and took the nearest way home. Two or three of them afterwards pointed out our position

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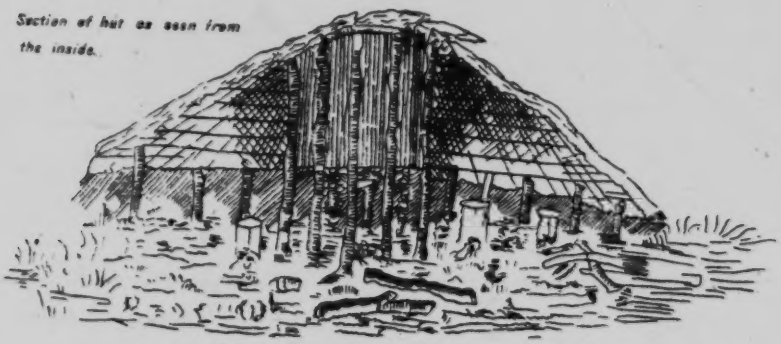
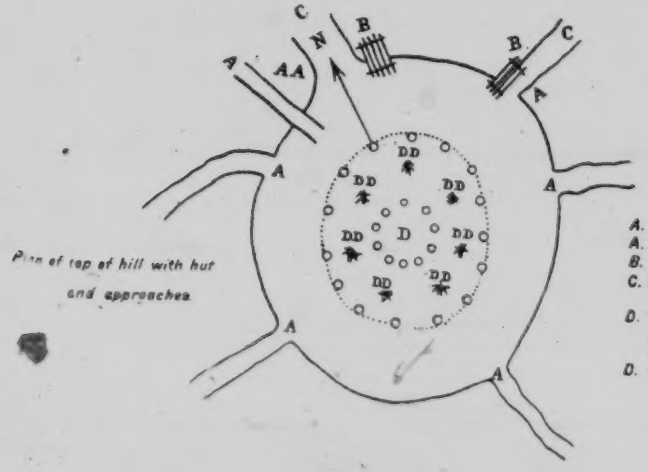
View of hut.

Section of hut as seen from the inside.





Plan of top of hill with hut and approaches.

A. A. Main approach.
A. Pathway.
B. Look out posts.
C. Jungle clearing in front of look out post.
D. Main fire place above which hung about 300 Pigakula.
D. D. Small fire places.

[Facing p. 78]

3: Temple , G-5 (1901) 1903 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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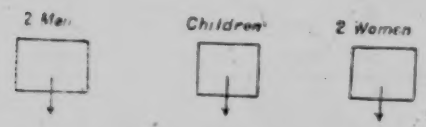
The camp consisted of three huts arranged thus:—



Arrows show entrance into huts.

The Andamanese said the camp had been occupied by two grown up men, two women and some children. The huts or shelters were about 5 feet long and 4 broad, and 4 feet high. They are made of a framework of sticks, some poles being bent down also and tied; leaves of a large palm cut with long stalks stuck into the ground, formed the back and roof of the huts. There were remains of fires inside the huts and in front of them and a considerable amount of white wood ash.

19th February.—Started at 6 A.M. and returned to the place we had landed to wait for Mr. Vaux. Mr. Bonig was asleep when I left. I left a message for him to say that I would be back at 9 A.M. He came to me about 7-30 A.M. and I asked him to go down the coast and see if Mr. Vaux had got out on to the coast and if so to bring him back, and asked him to be back on the launch by nightfall. I told him that if Mr. Vaux did not return by 9 A.M., I should go back to the launch, have some food and start off to follow Mr. Vaux's tracks and see what had happened to him.

Mr. Vaux did not return to our landing place, so I went back to the launch and had some breakfast, while the Andamanese had their food and made preparations to follow Mr. Vaux's tracks and to stay out a night in the forest, if necessary; as I had told Mr. Bonig I would do this and that he was not to be anxious about me, as I should return without fail the day after. Got ready food for Andamanese and Mr. Vaux.

While at breakfast I heard the report of a gun and saw Mr. Vaux and party on the shore at the mouth of the estuary of the creek we had gone up. Put off at once to fetch him and found that he had come across the Jarawa party, whose camp we had found. He had attacked the camp at night and taken two children prisoners. One child was a girl four or five years old, and the other a baby boy of about nine months. Mr. Vaux had camped on the site of the Jarawa camp and had shots fired at intervals to keep off the Jarawas, but was not attacked. The two men in it were said to have been wounded by the Andamanese who were with Mr. Vaux. The Andamanese shot at the men in the camp, while Mr. Vaux rushed into it. The Andamanese say there were two men, two women and two large boys and some small children.

We waited for Mr. Bonig, who returned about 6-30 P.M. He had seen a party on the shore on his way down the coast and thought it was mine; so went on and then landed and struck into the interior, but found no new traces of Jarawas, and so returned to the shore and came back to the launch soon after sunset.

20th February.—The capture of the girl and baby boy upset all our plans, as it was necessary to take the baby somewhere, where it could be fed. The Andamanese said there was a woman with a baby at Lekeralunta, (Port Anson), so we decided to take the baby there and return to Fort Campbell or Bilap (see Mr. Vaux's report of his first reconnaissance) and continue our search for Jarawa houses.

Left Bajalunta at 7-30 A.M., and arrived at Lekeralunta at 1 P.M. The Andamanese woman was out on a hunting trip, and as she was expected back in the evening we waited for her.

21st February.—As the Andamanese woman with a child did not come back, Mr. Vaux decided that Mr. Bonig should take the two Jarawa children to Port Blair, while myself and Mr. Vaux went to the large Jarawa hut at Pochang and looked for the main track south, and that Mr. Bonig was to join us the next morning at Pochang.

Weighed anchor at 6-30 A.M. Reached Dum-lachorag at 7-30 A.M., disembarked and sent the boat back to launch. Mr. Vaux, self, servants, 8 policemen and 13 Andamanese landed, while 4 policemen and 4 Andamanese went with Mr. Bonig to Port Blair. The tide was up, so we had considerable difficulty in getting up the estuary to Pochang, the site of the large Jarawa hut, which we had discovered on the first expedition. We reached Pochang about 1 P.M. and pitched camp a little beyond and above the site of the large Jarawa hut.

22nd February.—Mr. Vaux and self, each accompanied by one policeman and four Andamanese, started off in different directions to look for the main track of the Jarawas from their large hut. We left camp at 7-30 A.M. I followed the stream, from which we got our drinking water, (it flowed a little east of south for half an hour), and then climbed up the ridge, which we could see south from the camp running in a generally north and south direction. At 10 minutes past 9 we picked up some old Jarawa tracks in the bed of stream and at 9-40 reached a very old disused hunting camp on a ridge to the south of the stream, which there bent to the West. We then crossed the ridge and went south-east, and at 10 o'clock reached another stream flowing south, which we followed, and at 10-10 A.M. reached a salt water stream, which flows to the east of south and probably flows into the Middle Strait. Where we met it, it was about 40 feet wide. This is probably Pap-lunta Jig.

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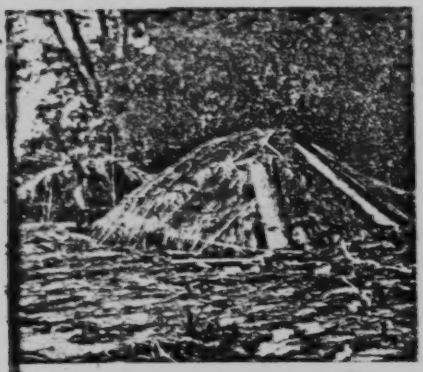

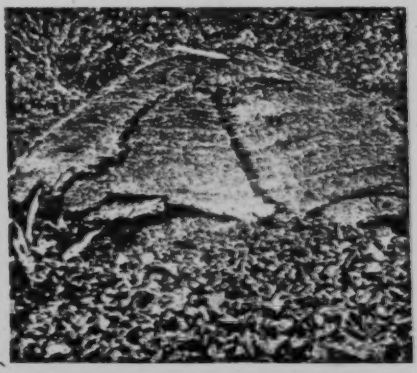

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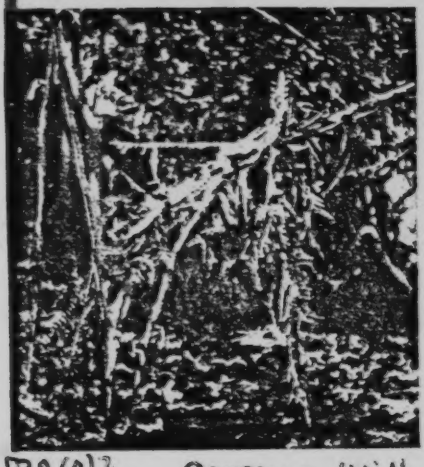

[P.2(A)] Captions will be found on P.2(B)-Analyst]

4:Guha E-5 (1948-1949)1953 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

[P.24(B)]

PLATE I

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Fig. 1—Onge hut, north of Dugong Creek, in Little Andaman Island.

Fig. 2—Onge hut, north of Dugong Creek, in Little Andaman Island.

Fig. 3—Entrance to Onge hut north of Dugong Creek in Little Andaman.

Fig. 4—Onges in front of their hut in Little Andaman (South of Dugong Creek). [142]

Fig. 5—Jarawa Shelter at Spike Island in Middle Andaman.

Fig. 6—Onge canoes with single outrigger in Little Andaman waters. [501]

Mr Subramanian of the Forest Department and Mr Majid's young son also accompanied us. We reached Bumila Creek on the north eastern coast of the Little Andaman at about 3 P.M. and having sighted an Andamanese hut we decided to anchor the launch there. The beach was about 2 miles from the place of anchorage. We took out a small boat and rowed to the beach and reached the hut at about 4 P.M. It was found to be abandoned but there were signs of human occupation and within a few yards a water-hole was discovered. A broken canoe, with a single out-rigger was found close to the hut (*see* Plate I, Fig. 1). Burnt coal and smouldering ashes in the centre of the hut showed that it was probably deserted by the Aborigines as soon as they had sighted us. After making a careful inspection of the place we returned to our launch and decided to anchor there for the night. Unfortunately the choppy sea and the strong current coming from the Bumila Creek tossed our small boat throughout the whole night, as a result of which all of us had an uncomfortable time.

We left southwards towards Hut Bay early in the morning and as we moved along the coast we sighted another Onge hut. This did not seem to be deserted as we saw a few people moving about. We decided to stop there and investigate. We took out a boat and moved towards the coast with such presents as we had brought from Port Blair on the advice of the Chief Commissioner. When we got near the coast, we left the boat and walked for about a furlong through coral beds finally reaching the shore. The hut was found to be circular in shape and not too large, and was occupied by 2 adult females, 1 adult male and a young boy. The adult male, *Ukla*, was the father of the young boy and husband of the younger woman. The older woman was his mother-in-law. These people appeared very friendly. We gave them presents we had brought and took photographs and made drawings of their hut. In addition, full anthropometric measurements were taken by me and blood was taken from fingers for typing by Mr Sarkar. Ukla was able to speak a few Hindi words and we gathered that he had been to Port Blair and knew Mr Bonington, formerly of the Forest Department, Andaman Islands. We found in front of the hut, hanging from a large tree the skull and mandible of a Dugong (*see* Plate I, Figs. 3 & 4). We enquired about its significance from Ukla, but unfortunately his knowledge of Hindi was not sufficient to explain it to us. We learned from him, however, that the name of the village was *Laito*. After making friendly gestures, we returned to 'Molly' and proceeded immediately towards Hut Bay. At about noon time while we were having our lunch, we suddenly saw three outrigger canoes (of single outrigger type) coming towards us, each carrying about 4 Onges. We signalled to them and they came to our launch and tied their canoes with it and came on board. The men appeared to be friendly and not afraid of us. Our greatest difficulty, however, was language, as we could not make ourselves understood as none of the crew or any other member including Mr Subramaniam of the Forest Department knew that language. There was one man who seemed to occupy a position of authority among these men, and was painted with red and yellow ochre on the forehead, arms and breast. The

there were no Andamanese there,
but 400 people consisting of 133 males and 130 females who migrated from Bassein in 1924. They were Karen Christians who had settled there. After returning to Long Island on the 12th, Mr Sarkar and party left in the motor boat "Return" for a short cruise along the Jarawa country. Besides Mr Joseph, there were Mr Poovial and a few of his Burman Bush Police armed with rifles and guns. The party passed through the Homfray's Strait and anchored at the north eastern corner of the Spike Island. Loka and his party of three Andamanese accompanied them in their two canoes. They came to the shore in one of the Andamanese canoes and after entering the forest they found bundles of bamboos piled up at one corner. This was identified as a Jarawa raft. There were also three paddles made out of a palm tree. These specimens were procured for the Department. After proceeding some distance in the jungle, 19 small fire places were counted in scattered manner. A temporary hut was also noticed at a short distance. A number of objects usually used by the Andamanese tribes for household purposes was found including a sling for carrying babies. A beautiful specimen of a Jarawa Bow painted in red in geometrical designs was also found. Photographs were taken of the settlements of the Jarawa camp and objects collected for the Museum. In another place at *Yeratiajig* remnants of a Jarawa camp including pottery and bones of animals, etc., were found. The party returned to Long Island on 14-3-48 and examined 8 of the remaining members of Loka's party. It left the same day for Port Blair where it arrived at 10 P.M. On the 25th Mr Sarkar and his party with the Deputy Chief Commissioner Mr Gupta, left for Kar Nicobar where it arrived on the following day. It returned to Port Blair after staying for a few days. During this time in Kar Nicobar, besides studying the Nicobarese of the Island Mr Sarkar met two Jarawa children who were captured and brought over there and placed in a local Mission School for education.

In the following year in January 1949, another small party was sent under Dr A. K. Mitra with Messrs H. K. Bose and A. Bhattacharyya, to continue the survey of the Little Andaman further along the eastern coast. They visited *Hut Bay* on the 28th and went to the Onge settlement there. A large circular hut similar to that seen by us at Tambebui was observed. It contained nine cots with a fire place in the centre. There were also two outrigger canoes, one in front of the hut and another on the beach. Altogether 11 Onges were found consisting of 2 adult males, 6 females and 3 young children between the ages of 6 to 15. The 8 adults and the adolescent boys were carefully measured and observations noted about their special somatic characters. After leaving Hut Bay they went as far as the South Point which is the southernmost point on the eastern coast of the Little Andaman, but did not see any other Onge settlement. They had to return on the 31st as the launch could not be spared any further.

The Onges were found to be strong and healthy and free from venereal disease, a scourge, which along with tuberculosis were chiefly responsible for the rapid depopulation of the Andamanese tribes. Our observations agree with the accounts of the Negritos of the Andaman Islands published before

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

tracted hardship and considerable risk, not so much from the natives themselves as from the implacable Andaman sea. We had a terrible time during several of our landings from the open Indian Ocean. Constant danger additionally stimulated the development of research in Little Andaman. All the Indians and the Burmese behaved bravely. Among them I wish to mention here my Indian stenographer, a married man nearing thirty, from Bengal: RANHADIR KUMAR DEY, who, on 12 and 13 February, 1953, on the south coast of the island shared two frightfully narrow escapes with me. I am sure that neither of us will ever forget it. I later found a comfortable landing place, now indicated by floating buoys, on the north coast. Two other Bengalese assistants who were a great help to me in Little Andaman and had been selected from a number of young aspirants, are PRONAB GANGULI and BIMAL CHANDRA ROY. My work in the Andamans could not have been accomplished without them and without the initiative and encouragement of officers such as Dr. B. S. GUHA, Director of the Department of Anthropology of the Indian Government, Mr. AJOY K. GHOSH, the kind, open-minded Chief Commissioner of Andamans and Nicobars during my 1951-1953 stay there, and Mr. S. N. MAITRA, who succeeded Mr. GHOSH as Chief Commissioner. In a book that I am writing I try to point out the significance of my work in the Andamans, carried out with the help of such distinguished, and sometimes heroic, Indian collaborators.

I. Hygienic Conditions

1. Habitation

The nomadic Onge have two kinds of shelter: one temporary, the other permanent, used only for short periods at a time. The Little Andaman forest is full of abandoned temporary shelters; the permanent camps are fewer, mainly situated along the coast. They consist of communal huts, strongly built by a number of families roaming under the direction of a leader. The huts have a ritual significance, as we shall presently see. Inside each communal hut are a number of beds generally equal to the number of families. Small fires are kept burning day and night near the beds, a precaution that I was thankful for on many cold nights succeeded by hot days. The Onge require nothing more against the cold. In their camps they can withstand the heaviest storms and drenching rains. In order to avoid chills it is enough for them to protect their fires from extinction. This applied to me too, while living among the Onge. The warmth and the dry air ensured good health for us all.

A few additional beds are for the use of bachelors nearing marriage. Most of the beds are marginally and radially placed; a few are placed transversally. Normal beds accommodate father, mother (the Onge are monogamous), children and dogs, all in a heap. In temporary as in permanent shelters it is customary for families to eat separately, each close to its bed. The low, round roof of the communal hut does not reach the ground; a gap of 30 cms is left free for creeping in and out at will without using the main door (a simple mat, to be lifted). Rubbish is thrown carelessly everywhere, e. g. directly outside the circular hut, which is consequently surrounded by a malodorous ring of bones, imperfectly cleaned shells, bits of rotting shellfish and other animals – a rich breeding ground for flies and various other insects that rapidly destroy everything edible, leaving the grass to grow until the next lot of garbage accumulates. Building and rebuilding a communal hut always on the same

LIDIO CIPRIANI, Hygiene and Medical Practices among the Onge (Little Andaman)

Plate 1

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415
516

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a) Onge communal hut.
b) Painted Onge woman drinking from a nautilus shell.
c) Woman with *bataghé* leaves.
d) Filter going from mouth to mouth.

[p. 489 (A)]

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

immense quantities of it together with pork. I was with them three times when this occurred, so I could observe their behaviour exhaustively. With their bellies full, the natives rest. Their only activity is body painting, performed by the women on the skin of their peacefully sleeping husbands. Designs change from time to time as I said before, according to the women's inventiveness. Each family challenges the others in renewing their patterns. The best are later reproduced until the next change. From year to year I noticed no real evolution in this rudimentary art, but a cyclical fashion, with temporary preference, in males and females alike, for some geometrical designs, unconnected with whatever kind of food they had been eating. This contradicts the published affirmations of several authors, who allege that the Andamanese paint special patterns in special colours for different kinds of food. There is nothing more false, at least with reference to the Onge. Merry feasting, whether on pork turtle, dugong, fish or honey, leads to a period of rest and body decoration – always in similar patterns and colours – with the unique purpose of preventing illness. We might say that painting the body is equal to cleaning it, but this is quite unintentional. A curious exception to the Onge's filthy habits is the practice of sweeping the floor after solemn banquets in communal huts. The surface of the floor consists of unpacked earth hardened by casual tramping. When it is dry, sweeping raises a heavy dust that fills the hut to the ceiling. It deposits there on the wooden beams where the Onge like to store cooked victuals. So they eat their food, as I said before, coated with dust, no matter how thick. A brush without a handle is used to sweep the floor ; it is 80 cms long and no thicker than a man's wrist. It is one of the nicest tools made by the Onge, and consists of strong, hard, elastic palm fibres bound together with strips of rattan. The dirt is simply thrown out all around the hut, by pushing it under the roof mats that never reach the ground.

These notes offer a first glimpse into a peculiar aspect of Onge life. It is to be deplored that these vanishing people have not yet been exhaustively studied, notwithstanding their anthropological interest and high biological significance.

7: Sarkar D-4, 5 (1948) 1960 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

the actual Onge population. He has estimated the population instead of giving a simple population figure for each of the Onge settlements he visited. His estimates are based on the number of sleeping places in a hut, though nothing definite could be found either with regard to the total number of communal huts or the sleeping places. Then, to find out the sex of the individuals from the sleeping places seems preposterous. CIPRIANI (1956) estimates the total Onge population to be 607, comprising "229 adult men, 241 adult women and 137 children". He was able to determine the sex of the children in about 80 % of the cases, since immediately after the above quotation, he states: "Of the latter 68 are boys, 62 girls, and of 27 sex could not be ascertained". In the same paper and just two sentences before, where he gave the above figures, he mentioned a total of 497 individuals, comprising 242 men and 255 women. If the latter figures are meant only for adults then with the addition of 137 children to the above adult population of 497, the total Onge population appears to be 634. Even then the discrepancies in the adult population remain to be explained; it adds up to 470 (229 males, 241 females) once and to 497 (242 males, 255 females) another time.

The only thing that has some value in the demography of the Onges is that he has collected personal names of 107 adult males and 105 adult females. It is not known why the children have been excluded. At any rate, the personal names indicate a slightly higher number of males (50.5 %) than females while the total estimate for adults shows a hitherto unknown Onge sex ratio. With an adult population of 229 males and 241 females, the sex ratio works up to 48.7 % males and 51.3 % females.

Population estimates are always hazardous and, from all reports, the Onges appear to be a dwindling population. R. F. LOWIS, the Census Superintendent for the Andamans during 1911 and 1921 was frank enough to admit in 1921 that his 1911 estimate was "too high", though he gave one for 1921.

It is surprising that neither the Andaman Government nor the Department of Anthropology provided CIPRIANI with an assistant, trained among aboriginal people, who could have been of much help to him. At least the Onges could have been counted in each of the localities visited.

Settlements. — The typical Onge settlement is the communal hut, which is usually located on the beach. CIPRIANI mentions the communal huts in the interior of the island, but does not describe their details.

During the 1911 and 1921 Censuses coastal trips round the island were made and the former Census provides a very good map with the names of twenty settlements scattered on the island. The names are: 1) *Tambeibui*[4], 2) Uede, 3) *Nachuge*, 4) Tochiewe, 5) Tochengedu, 6) Quonaame, 7) *Geejege*, 8) *Ingoi-tijala*, 9) *Eudea-geleda*, 10) To-to-bwe (unoccupied), 11) *Titugalaute*, 12) *Totbalowe*, 13) Toedeada (unoccupied), 14) *Kwanale-lu-kuge*, 15) Koreale, 16) Porale, 17) *Chetamale*, 18) *Titaiye*, 19) Ogechai, 20) Obate.

The names of the settlements visited during the 1921 Census are given at the beginning of this paper. It was also mentioned that 16 huts were seen in comparison to 19 (this will probably be 20) in 1911. The names of 15 settlements could be gathered from the Census Report of 1931 and the 10 settlements italicized above can be rather easily correlated with those of 1911.

CIPRIANI's map is again difficult to follow. Firstly, he has not given any idea of the medium of language by which he communicated with the Onges. He has located in his map 18 existing coastal huts, of which the name of one between Otirubara and Benyaboi is missing. The position of the "supposed" huts within the jungle is misleading. Was he equipped with surveying instruments? Then he mentions 11 huts which are "no more in existence". How were they recognised? In what earlier context have they been identified as such? Only five of the eleven names (Obate, Palalankwe [or Kwalalanque, according to CIPRIANI], Ogechai, Ingoi-tijala and Chetamale) could be correlated with earlier records. Of the 20 coastal huts listed by him four (Nachuge, Geejege [or Gaje, according to CIPRIANI], Titaje and Tambeibui) could be correlated with the names of the 1931 Census map.

[4] So spelt in the 1911 Census.

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

The North Sentinel Jarawa

648 175 The taming of the South Andaman Jarawa has been a moot problem of the local government in view of their occasional raids on the forest camps and offices. On this score the North Sentinel Jarawa appear to have an important function. Nothing is known of the length of their isolation on this little island of about 15 square miles but it is probably unaffected by the punitive expeditions, that are undertaken from time to time by the local government against the South Andaman Jarawa. When BONIG and his party landed on the west coast of North Sentinel Island on March 9th 1911, they were not received with volleys of arrows, but instead the "eight men on the beach and another five in two canoes" disappeared in the jungle. The same was true of those seen previously on the east coast. BONIG and his party visited some huts, which [342] were of the lean-to type, and also went some miles inland without being troubled. BONIG therefore rightly concludes the following:

"The people appear very timid and it seems not unlikely that if they are approached frequently with presents, they will become friendly of their own accord. If this fails the small area of the island and the open nature of the forest would also make it easy to capture some, and after kind treatment let them go again".

000 As far as the present writer's knowledge goes this method has not yet been tried, but its utility lies perhaps in taming their South Andaman congeners. They could be made to settle round Port Campbell and other suitable areas on the west coast. A few communal huts built according to the plan and style of the South Andaman Jarawa should first of all be provided. They should be given all chances of expanding their population. Such an opportunity they are likely to seize if they suffer in any way from population pressure or from shortage of food and shelter. If their canoes are not seaworthy they should be provided with suitable water transport so that there may be frequent intercourse between the two islands.

The South Andaman Jarawa

114 Although no systematic ethnographic studies on the Jarawa have been undertaken, RADCLIFFE BROWN (1922) gave sufficient hints regarding the unity of the material culture of the Negritos as a whole. Physically they belong to the Negrito race, as can be seen from the few natives captured from time to time by the local government (SARKAR, 1952). The punitive expeditions 648 have also brought to light some important facts of their material culture.
342 Thus, during the punitive expedition of March 1911 (LOWIS, 1912) near Pap-lunta-jig a big communal hut was found which had been erected on the ridge of a hill and which measured 45′ × 30′ × 15′. It was raised high above the ground and was supported by a number of stout piles. The structure [184] was different from the Onge communal huts in that the floor was raised, while in the latter the floor is just the surface of the earth. The eves of the Onge communal hut touch the ground.

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

123 The second trip was made on March 12th 1948. Our party included Mr. JOSEPH and Mr. POOVIAH [2], both Sub-divisional Officers of the forest department, one Burman bush police and four Andamanese with their two canoes tied behind our motor boat. We followed the same route from Long Island and, reaching Spike Island, we anchored at its northeastern corner. We came ashore in the canoes. The beach was small and rocky. Part of it was sheltered on one side by huge rocks behind which the Jarawa were known to waylay those approaching from the sea. So we landed very cautiously. Just at the outskirts of the jungle we saw huge bundles of short bamboo lengths tied to one another and piled up in a heap. It was a Jarawa raft. Near the bamboo pile were three crude paddles split from the spadix of the palm called *Nipa fruticans*. We were all the more careful in our approach.

Soon we came upon a clearing in the jungle. There was no Jarawa, but all around we saw traces of a temporary halt of a large party. We counted nineteen fireplaces. At a distance from the fireplaces we saw a small temporary hut improvised out of the materials available on the spot. Two small shrubs were tied together on two sides to form the roof of the hut. The Andamanese identified it to have been made for the Jarawa chief and his wife. Household objects lay scattered about. Three bamboo cylinders, closed at one end by the natural node, were found next to three of the fireplaces. They are used for carrying water. A dark coloured modern glass bottle, probably acquired during a raid, was also found. One fireplace had a small compartment enclosed by a few wooden posts a few yards off. The Andamanese identified it as an enclosure for keeping a child at a safe distance from the fire. This was probably correct as there was also a baby sling made of bark, exactly similar to that used by the Onge for carrying a baby on its mother's back (VON EICKSTEDT, 1934, fig. 211). At one corner of a fireplace the shavings of an arrowshaft or a bow were seen and nearby was a flat round pebble, one end of which was broken like that of a scraper (fig. 3). This scraper showed marks of red ochre on it. Beneath a tree a circular mat, sewn out of three pieces of long triangular palm-like leaves was spread out, while on its branches was found a beautiful specimen of an unstrung bow. It appeared to have been recently prepared and

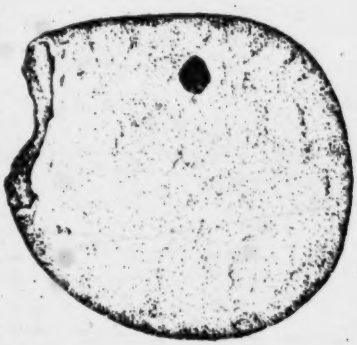

Fig. 3

[2] These two officers captured two Jarawa males, one adult and one boy, on October 19th 1948 on Spike Island. They were brought to Port Blair, wherefrom they managed to escape at night.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

The contact of the Onges with the outsiders can only be traced since the efforts of M. V. Portman[1] to establish a friendly relation with these tribes from 1886 onwards. However the earlier contacts with the Chinese and Japanese were possible because these people used to frequent the shores of Little Andaman for collecting the valuable shells and the Onges used to be engaged by them as divers and in reciprocation they were given presents of alcohol and opium. In the initial stage of the attempt for establishing a friendly relation by Portman, the Onges proved themselves hostile which was evidenced from the poor fate of the crews of a ship 'Assam Valley' when it touched the shores of Little Andaman and it was through the great efforts of the punitive expedition led by W. L. Much that the dead bodies of the crews were recovered. Later on, a few Onges, all on a sudden, arrived at Cinque Island and were captured by M. V. Portman. Only 9 of them were detained and the rest 15 were released. These few captured Onges were closely observed and studied in Port Blair by Portman and were ultimately returned back to their native land, Little Andaman. The friendly treatment and the presents that these Onges had received from Portman, paved the path of establishing friendly relations with the Onges much easier and also made the subsequent visits of the foreigners much more welcome. After Portman, a few more contacts were made with the Onges by Prof. Lapicque in March, 1893, during the operations of 1911 and 1921, undertaken by Eicsktedt, a German anthropologist, in 1827, by Dr. B. S. Guha, Ex-Director Anthropological Survey of India in 1948 and by Lidio Cipriani, an Italian anthropologist in the year 1954 and in a few succeeding years. Still the knowledge about the Onges seems to be meagre.

Living exclusively in the Little Andaman and a few of them in the Rutland Island, the Onges live in groups on a septal basis with clear-cut boundaries of hunting group for each group. There is no permanent habitation or village of the Onges in any part of the Little Andaman and their huts are of two types—(a) the permanent type of communal hut called *bera*, and (b) the temporary type of shelter called *korale*.

The abundance of food and water has made the life of the Onges comparatively easy-going. All the groups are headed by a leader and each group is assigned a fixed territory. The community life seems to be extremely democratic in character which entertains and also maintains a perfect individual freedom and only in times of necessity, advice,

1 Portman, M. V—History of one relations with the Andamanese.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

CHAPTER IX
ABORIGINAL POPULATION
Painted faces of the Onges (Courtesy A.S.I)

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Preparation of a tussel by an Onge Woman (Courtesy A.S.I.)

Construction of the hut by an Onges (Courtesy A.S.I.)

[facing P. 64]

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Cleaning themselves, to the Onges, means painting themselves to ward off evil and to remove, so they said, the smell of pig fat after the colossal orgies which follow a particularly good hunt, when even they find the stench too much. These orgies, which give them appalling indigestion for days, are followed by an apparently instinctive variation of their diet to raw or cooked vegetable foods. On three occasions from 1952–54 I was present at one of these solemn pork and honey orgies. The Onges ate almost till they burst, and then, hardly able to move, cleaned up by a grand painting session. The women do the painting, families vying with each other to produce weird new designs, which are then copied until the next feast.[1]

Fed and painted, the Onges sit down to smoke, using pipes made from crabs' claws. Still regardless of hygiene the pipes go from one mouth to another, the women smoking just as heavily as the men.

One curious anomaly is that the Onges do sometimes sweep the earth floor of the communal hut. The floor is not deliberately beaten down, but becomes hardened by continuous walking on it; in dry weather it turns to dust, which rises and settles everywhere, especially under the roof, where the lumps of cooked meat, fish and so on are hung. For the cleaning a broom or besom is prepared, well made with very hard, supple, palm fibres, bound tightly and carefully with cords made from reeds. The whole thing is about eighty centimetres long and as thick as a man's wrist.

The dirt is simply swept out all round from under the roof of the hut through the gap between the roof and the ground. In the course of time a ring of refuse builds up round the hut, forming a glorious breeding ground for insects of all kinds. When the hut has to be rebuilt, owing to the ravages of wood-worm and termites, the ring is levelled off to form the new floor. Since the same small, well-chosen site may be used for thousands of years, the hut ends up perching on top of a small mound of refuse dating back to very

[1] From one year to the next I saw no real evolution of art forms but cyclic changes of designs, with a preference for certain geometric patterns, at certain times of the year. Having watched various individuals of both sexes closely over a period of some years I can say that in the Onges at least, contrary to what is generally understood, the use of given patterns, and given kinds of ochre, does not correspond with given types of food. Any feast is always followed by painting, always with the weirdest designs possible, but always geometrical, never far from the current 'fashion', and never even remotely inspired by the basis of the feast.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

ancient times. Great Andaman abounds in these man-made humps, to which the name 'kitchen-middens' has been given, but none are in use today. In Little Andaman, on the other hand, many are still being built up.

The sweeping operations disturb clouds of flies and tiny beetles, light brown in colour, shot with metallic blue, with a highly domed back, and about five millimetres long, which always collect under bones and other human food refuse. Hordes of fleas, invisible in the dirt on the floor but multiplying busily, are also stirred up. Fortunately there are no lice on Little Andaman, owing to the absence of clothing and bed-linen, and the Onges carry no lice in their hair.

In fact the dogs' coats carry the fleas from place to place more than do their naked, smooth-skinned owners. Every time I went into a hut which had been empty for a time, as happens in the dry season when the occupants are away on a hunting trip, I was assailed by swarms of fleas such as I had never imagined! They rushed up one's body from feet to neck in absolute serried ranks, platoons of them, solid masses of tiny black moving objects. The only thing to do was to go out into the open and douse oneself in Flit, which caused them to retreat hastily. My camp-bed was always given a precautionary dose. Unfortunately Flit was not enough to disperse the clouds of ticks, tiny but dangerous, and a scourge in the forests of the Andamans. The Onges call them *anaghe* and thoroughly enjoyed helping to catch them on me in hundreds after every expedition into the forest.

None of these pests worry the Onges, who make no attempt to get rid of them. They leave mounds of filth round their huts or in their forest camps for them to breed in, and the light covering of earth or leaves which at best cover the Onges' faeces, deposited near the camp, was never any deterrent to breeding. The Onges never dig sanitary trenches or prepare any other form of latrines, even for their permanent sites; the forest is all concealing. However, they will never defaecate near, or in, a water course, even when the bed is dry, and when my men used the bed of a dried-up stream for the purpose the Onges protested to me, because the water would be contaminated. I was not disposed to contradict them.

In the forest, meeting a swarm of flies was a sure sign that we

were approaching an Onge camp. Everywhere they go they are accompanied by flies of all sizes, and in Little Andaman the swarms are so bad that the first stranger to land called a river after them, Bumila Creek, or fly river. Their flies betray the Onges long before the barking of their dogs – no human voice ever betrays their silent presence.

On Little Andaman today the Onges' tacit divisions of territory are of little importance, so heavy has been the fall in population, but they still keep out of areas belonging to other 'huts', even if the huts themselves have been abandoned. I never saw any disputes over territory, or the ownership of the area in which a pig was caught (and hence ownership of the pig). The Onges who accompanied me, possibly encouraged by the prestige value of a European with them, hunted wherever we went without anyone raising any protests. Nevertheless, I always took the precaution of giving anything I or my Indians took to the Onges of the nearest hut, invariably much to their delight.

Contrary to established opinion, communal huts on Little Andaman are not found only along the coasts; the majority, and certainly the best constructed, are in the interior. Togalanghe is one, and there are a number of permanently abandoned temporary camps near it.

Both the permanent and temporary huts or shelters of the Andamans resemble those of the Semang. The latter are extremely simple, especially in the dry season; there are no walls and only a very sloping roof of leaves, high at the front and very low at the back, the beds being put so that the feet face the low part of the roof. With the Semang and Aeta the beds may be made of bamboo; this is never the case in the Andamans, as there are no large bamboos in the archipelago (Brown was wrong in this respect. The few slender bamboos on Little Andaman are only usable for making drying racks, which are found only round the hut at Beniabol in the south. As the people were away when I went there, and the site was consequently completely deserted, I was unable to establish visually what they dried, but traces of fish, particularly pilchards, were indication enough.)

These temporary shelters are put up extremely quickly. Two poles less than two metres long for the front, and two more, thirty to forty centimetres long, for the back, are fixed firmly into the

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

ground. Two parallel transverse poles of equal length, one front and one back, complete the frame, which is lashed together with the usual rush fibres. The roof consists of fresh *Pandanus* leaves, palms, or grass. It never actually touches the ground, and food refuse is thrown out from underneath it in the usual way, covering the ground round the shelter.

The bed takes a little longer than the roof to put up, as a number of sticks have to be gathered to make the compact platform, raised about half a metre from the ground on four stout props driven into the ground, one at each corner, and a suitable trunk has to be found for the head-rest. Normally one bed takes an entire family – mother, father, children and dogs, all well packed on the platform with the inevitable fire beside. On rare occasions, when the shelter is intended purely for the menfolk on a hunting expedition, only one bed is prepared, but generally every hunter has his family with him. I have myself slept like this with the Onges on trips where the forest was too dense for any baggage to be carried.

As the kitchen-middens show (see p. 68), their permanent huts are, with very few exceptions, circular and are still extremely simple. The essential feature is the waterproof roof-mats, well overlapped, which form the enormous umbrella roof. From the outside the whole thing looks in danger of collapsing, but from the interior it is obviously safely held by a frame of poles, lashed with innumerable ties to stout uprights fixed firmly into the ground. No central pillar is needed, and when there is one it is only by chance; I saw very few on Little Andaman. There are no divisions into rooms or compartments – everything is open to the eyes of all the occupants of the beds. Most of these are arranged as the radii of a circle, fairly near the outer edge of the hut, the roof coming down so close to the ground that everyone sleeps with their heads towards the centre, but there may be some beds across the centre space.

At the circumference the roof is only thirty to forty centimetres from the ground, the roofing mats being well lashed on to uprights in case of high winds, and one can wriggle in and out of the hut on one's stomach, crawling over the refuse thrown out through the convenient gap. There is always, however, a 'proper' entrance, where one edge of the roof-wall can be lifted up. At the top of the roof, on the lee side, one section can be propped open on poles,

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

allowing the smoke to escape and letting more air in – a very welcome relief at times, even for the Onges!

I made sketch plans of all the huts I visited, with positions of the supporting poles, beds, etc. Two typical ones were those at Toqué-è-bùie and Tambe-e-buiè. In March 1952 the former had some parts of the roof missing, as the inhabitants had taken the mats off to make temporary shelters in the forest; when the rains came they brought them back and replaced them. This custom explained why, on Great Andaman, some obviously temporary shelters had roofs far too well made to be intended for purely temporary use.

Entering the hut at Toqué-è-bùie, by the entrance proper, one finds oneself facing an area with no beds in it. In the centre of this area, under the apex of the roof, is a fire, a little larger than those kept burning beside each bed. This is used for communal cooking during the rainy season; at other times all cooking is done in the open. The ground area covered by the roof was 9·12 square metres, its height at the centre 3·3 metres, and the external circumference 30·65 metres. Beyond this stretched the ring of refuse built up by each short period of occupation.

Unlike many of the huts of Little Andaman, Toqué-è-bùie has a central pole, not thick, but of a very hard wood. In a circle round this are ten upright poles, each about two metres from the central pole. Starting on the left of the entrance and moving clockwise their heights vary slightly.[1] Outside this inner circle of supporting poles are two more concentric rings of uprights, the first, with a radius of 3·65 metres from the central pole, consists of twenty uprights with an average height of 1·35 metres, and the second, with a radius of 4·53 metres from the centre pole, has an average height of 0·38 metres. In nearly every hut each circle of uprights is attached to the roof by a ring formed by a bundle of long canes, to which each upright is lashed. Another bunch of long canes runs transversely from the entrance to the opposite side of the hut, almost touching the ground at the two ends, touching the roof in the middle, and fixed to the rings of canes to which the uprights are attached.

The bundle of canes forming this arch support is clearly set in place after the erection of the first (innermost) ring of uprights, and actually lies on top of the ring of canes to which they are

[1] 2·43, 2·33, 2·32, 2·3, 2·43, 2·33, 2·3, 2·35, 2·32, 2·33 metres.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

attached. From it to the ring run a series of long batons, the 'ribs' of the umbrella. All along the length of the transverse bundle of canes are attached the ends of similar 'ribs', with supplementary canes at weak points. In this hut and in a number of others, extra rings of canes not supported by uprights are put in afterwards for extra strength, all securely lashed at every point.

At this stage of construction the hut would thus have consisted of a centre pole, first circle of uprights supporting the first ring of canes, second (unsupported) ring of canes fixed to the 'ribs' running over it, second concentric circle of uprights supporting the third ring of canes, the fourth (unsupported) ring of canes, and the third circle of uprights supporting the fifth and last ring of canes. Right across from the entrance to the opposite side of the hut ran the elliptical transverse bundle of canes. Tight rush fibre lashings at every crossing and meeting point held the whole frame solidly together.

The roof itself was then put on. This consists of palm leaves like huge fans. The Onges split these in halves down the centre vein and then lay one half on top of the other, head to tail, main ribs together. Four, six or possibly more reeds, three metres long and two to three centimetres in diameter, are then split in half lengthwise and laid out parallel on the ground. The pairs of palm leaves are then laid across the parallels and lashed securely with rush fibres, working from the bottom up, so that the edges of each pair cover the ribs of the pair below, making a water-shed. Seen from the inside of the finished hut the ribs, blackened by smoke, look almost like parallel vaulting.

In this particular hut there are beds for seven families (and their dogs) set as radii, and four transversely. Round the centre pole, on three sides only (leaving the fourth open for access to the central fire) are three fairly high platforms, rather smaller than the beds. Occasionally I saw young people sleeping on two of these, very cramped, climbing up a fixed ladder to reach them. The third platform was always used to keep meat out of the way of the dogs, and is clearly a recent innovation following their arrival in the island. The rough platforms forming the beds proper were about fifty centimetres off the ground, but this distance varies from place to place – in the south, at Beniabol I saw them about one metre off the ground, with the family fire under instead of beside them.

352 The beds are supported on four convenient branches forked at the top, on which the four poles forming the bed frame rest. The size of the frame varies between 1·55 × 0·65 metres and 1·15 × 0·43 metres, and on this small platform the entire family sleeps huddled 513 together. The human members of the family lie longwise, all with their heads on the same log set as a head-rest (unless they are lucky enough to find a suitable giant bamboo washed up on the beach). Very occasionally a rush mat about half a metre square is laid on the platform, but usually the family just lies on bare canes packed tightly together on the frame parallel with the long side.

342 The hut at Tambe-e-buiè, its 1951 edition delayed till 1952 by 352 the earthquake the previous year when part of the coast dropped, 184 was rather larger than Toqué-è-bùie. In 1953 it was rebuilt twenty [731] metres or so further back from the sea, but exactly as before. It has twelve beds, including two on the high platforms for the adolescents, one of which has two tiers, on the principle of our bunks. I saw this type of thing on a number of occasions and on one occasion I saw one being built out in the open, with the top platform three metres from the ground. All the beds at Tambe-e-buiè are rather higher than at Toqué-è-bùie (but not as high as Beniabol) and were all arranged radially; the platform on which meat was kept was two metres off the ground.

342 An unusual feature of Tambe-e-buiè, which had a diameter of 184 13·55 metres and a maximum height of 4·5 metres, was a series of six vertical poles set in a straight line to support the main transverse beam, one of which could be regarded as a centre pole. The pole on each side of the centre formed part of the innermost circle of supporting poles; there were two more circles, all supporting rings of canes. Unusually, only one of the rings of canes supporting the roof did not rest on vertical poles. The outer ring was only 0·4 metres high and the edge of the roof almost touched the ground, although one could still brush the fronds apart and crawl out. The roof mats were rectangular, very well made, and larger than at Toqué-è-bùie; some were three and a half metres by three metres or more, laid over seven or ten split reeds, instead of the usual four or five.

312 No permanent hut, or even a temporary shelter, is ever built far [361] from water supplies adequate for the number of people in the group. If there is none visible, the Onges know how to dig for it,

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[147]

14 In spite of their size, the Andaman islanders are capable of carrying enormous weights

15 A temporary shelter in the forest

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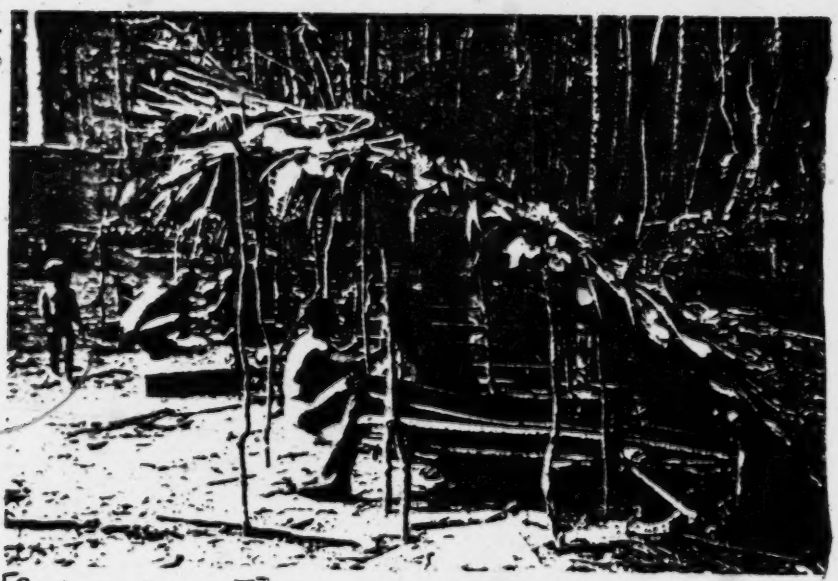

[facing P. 66, J]

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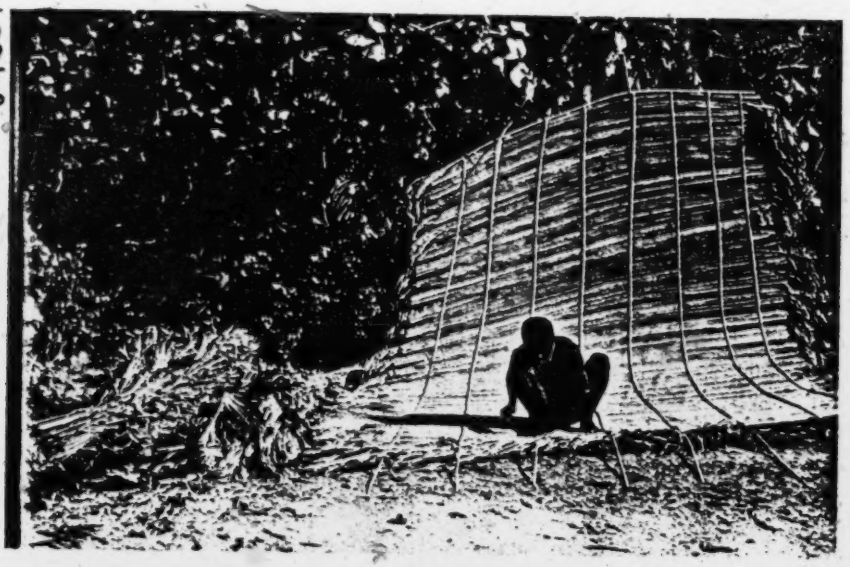

16 Making a roof section from palm fronds for a permanent dwelling

342
[1964]

17 Completed permanent dwelling, which is also used for burial of the inhabitants

[facing P. 66, K]

142
231
291
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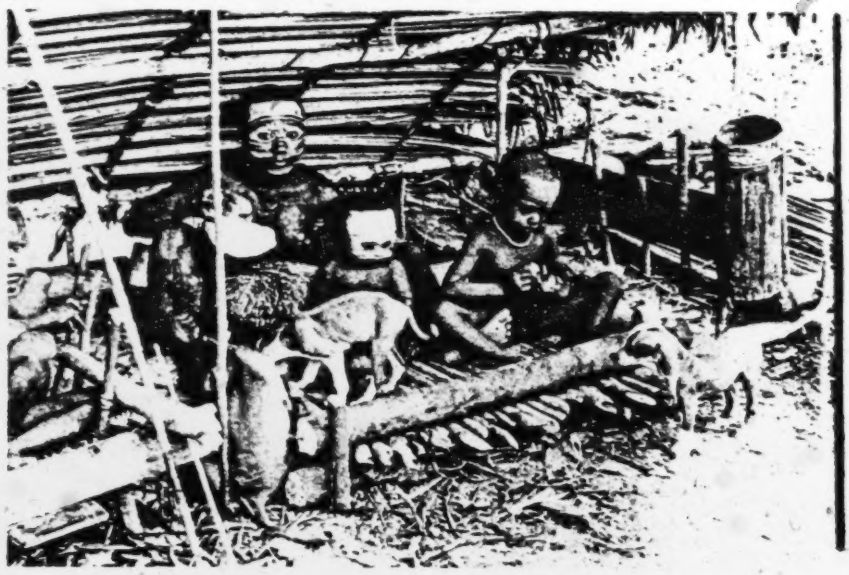

18 A family group with, on the right, the cylindrical cooking-pot, and the inevitable dogs

19 Typical shell collection from a kitchen-midden

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[facing P. 67]

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

The continual fighting between the Eremtaga and the Arioto led, as we have seen, to the gradual disappearance of the communal huts of the latter as being too vulnerable. Subsequently, the conflict still going on between foreigners and Jarawas completed the destruction, so that there are now no communal huts on Great Andaman. The ever-increasing violence of the punitive expeditions against the Jarawas put an end to their numerical recovery during the last fifteen years or so, and there may indeed now be none left. Today only their kitchen-middens, and the surviving Onges, remain to show us how the Jarawas must have lived.

The Jarawa middens are distinguishable from those of the Arioto by their inland position and by their content of freshwater shellfish and land gasteropods, not eaten by the peoples of the coast.

Like the kitchen-middens of the Onges, those of the Jarawas contain human bones clearly interred in graves, and not scattered among the refuse. This refutes the Arioto accusation against the Eremtaga of cannibalism, and that of the people of South Andaman (now vanished) against the people of North Andaman and the Onges; the remains of cannibal feasts would undoubtedly have been found among kitchen refuse and not carefully buried in the ritual manner, with the graves filled in with earth. And the Jarawas and the majority of the Arioto buried their dead in the communal huts, continuing a custom which originated while they were still on Little Andaman. In time variations arose, but this does not alter the evidence in favour of migration in ancient times from the south, via the Nicobars and Little Andaman.

The differences in culture between the islands can be explained by the ease with which primitive peoples forget. The Jarawas, for example, although they reached Great Andaman by sea from Little Andaman, forgot in a few generations the art of hollowing canoes when they were forced to live in the depths of the forests, far from the sea. Today, they have been free from the Arioto for some time, at least on the west coast, and have access to the sea, but they have not started building canoes again. In other things, however, such as burial rites, the Jarawas kept faithful to the old Onge customs; their middens show the same exhumation of the bones, the same cleaning, and tinting with ochre, and careful reburial.

The general similarity of the middens in Great and Little Andaman cannot be due to chance. Animal food, for example, has clearly

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

136 to grasp the edge of another leaf and draw it to him. A series of these chains, working side by side with their efforts synchronized, are strong enough to draw two leaves together, all the heads of the chains gripping one leaf in their jaws and the rear pairs of feet clinging with their tiny, sharp hooks on to the other. If the two leaves are growing close together, a single row of ants side by side is enough and they seem instinctively to know how many are needed.

Once the edges are together, the weaving squad can begin work. Each ant is armed with a larva gripped tightly in its jaws, moving it to and fro like a shuttle so that the fine thread of liquid emerges over the joint between leaves, hardening almost before it reaches them. And so the 'weaving' with the larvae 'shuttles' continues until in the end the two leaves are joined firmly, one party holding the leaves together while the other joins them with the silken web. This is repeated until enough leaves are joined together in a sphere to form the nest, any odd gaps remaining being sealed with further layers of thread.

The weaving is done only by the hordes of workers, who are completely sterile throughout their life (the single queen enclosed with a few males in each colony lays the eggs). The amazing thing is that there appear to be no leaders superintending the work, or deciding what must be done at any given moment. Yet the work proceeds smoothly and silently, with no interruptions, as though done by a single craftsman, each ant obeying while none commands.

Equally fascinating, and far more destructive, are the termites, whose life cycle and activities are the same all over the world. The [342] Onges' communal huts, which would otherwise last for a considerable time, are constantly ravaged by them and reduced to dust under their onslaught. Their annual swarms are much the same on Little Andaman as elsewhere. Clouds of them rise out of the ground when the rains come and in mid-April every year I used to see myriads of them attracted by the lights of my camp on the north-east coast of the island. They would swarm round the camp, many landing on the table in front of me, while thousands more piled up on the ground below. The moment they landed they stopped dead, firmly planted on all six legs as though paralysed, and arched the lower part of their body up and over their back, touching their four wings one after the other with the tip of the abdomen. The

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AWI India
Andamans A22

mariners from massacre. Despite efforts at conciliation there was violence on both sides; attempts were made indeed to settle some of the more friendly groups in an 'Andamans Home' as fishers of trepang (sea-slug) and collectors of edible bird-nests, both for the Chinese market. But the only result was to civilise them out of existence, largely by venereal disease.[52] The Andamanese are—perhaps one should say were—Negritos, and as they represented perhaps the nearest approach to a 'pure primitive' society, both ethnically and culturally, these hunters and gatherers have attracted anthropological attention out of proportion to their numbers.[53]

Transportation of convicts to the Andamans began after the Mutiny. Latterly there was a change of emphasis, hopeless criminals being re-transported to India and the settlement becoming in effect an open prison for young men condemned to life sentences for more or less excusable homicide. After a few months in jail convicts were allowed to become wage-earning employees of Government, to wear ordinary dress, and to marry or bring out their wives. These changes were reflected in the sex composition of the population: 15,158 males to 2980 females in 1901, 14,872 to 6444 in 1941. The cultural landscape also changed: "Everywhere the ephemeral huts of former times are giving way to well-constructed two-storeyed houses of sawn timber and iron roofs," and a good deal of reclamation of malarial swamp took place around Port Blair. The communal composition of the population was an odd reflection of social conditions: in 1941 Muslims were about a third, largely Moplahs from Madras deported after their 1921 rebellion; Sikhs were 3·5% against an All-India total of 1·5%, Buddhists—i.e. Burmese—over 13%. This corresponds to the prevalence of dacoity in Burma and to the Sikh *penchant* for "liquor, love, and fights".

Practically all the economic development is in the Settlement of Port Blair, an area of about 500 sq mls in the S of South Andaman; here is 90% of the population, the remainder being in forest camps. About 75,000 ac. are more or less cleared, of which about 10–15,000 are cultivated and as much grazing land. Paddy and coconuts each account for about a third of the cultivation, and there are (or were) struggling plantations of rubber and coffee, negligible in area.

The war and the Japanese occupation saw a fall in population to about 16,000, and on re-occupation the penal settlement was formally abolished. From time to time schemes of Anglo-Indian agricultural settlement have been mooted, and in March 1948 a batch of 132 families displaced from E Bengal arrived. It may be noted that some Burmese politicians periodi-

[52] 1931 Census Vol. II (Andamans and Nicobars), 11–23.

[53] The classic treatments are those of Sir Richard Temple in the 1901 Census and of A. R. Brown in *The Andaman Islanders* (1922). There is unfortunately little geography in the latter book; what there is is largely summed up in L. Garrard's 'sociograph' in *Studies in Regional Consciousness and Environment* (ed. I. C. Peate, 1930), 82.